





## **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

## THE SOCIETY

OF

## BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

NOVEMBER, 1892,

TO

JUNE, 1893.

VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

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1893.

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## **PROCEEDINGS**

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OF

## BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

## VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

First Meeting, November 1st, 1892.

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1892.

## SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

## **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

## THE SOCIETY

OF

## BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

First Meeting, 1st November, 1892.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

- From the Trustees of the British Museum:—The Tell el-Amarna Tablets, in the British Museum, with autotype facsimiles. London. 4to. 1892.
- From la Société Finno-Ougrienne:—Inscriptions de l'Orkhow, recueillies par l'Expedition Finnoise, 1890. Helsingfors. Folio. 1892.
- From the Publisher:—David Nutt. Medûm. By W. M. Flinders Petrie, with chapters by F. Ll. Griffith, Dr. A. Wiedemann, Dr. W. J. Russell, F.R.S., and W. E. Crum. London. 4to. 1892.
- From the Author:—Sir Henry Layard, G.C.B. Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia. In two volumes with Maps and Illustrations. London. 8vo. 1887.
- From the Editor:—J. A. Coles, A.M., D.D. Abraham Coles: Biographical Sketch. Memorial Tribute. Selections from his Works. Edited by his son. New York. 8vo. 1892.

[No. cx.]

- From the University:—The Benefactors of the University of Toronto, after the Great Fire of 14th February, 1890. 8vo. 1802.
- From Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A.:—Notes on Ancient Egyptian Methods of Hewing, Dressing, Sculpturing and Polishing Stone. By Francis Fox Tuckett, F.R.G.S. 8vo. 1891.
- From the Author:—E. Schiaparelli. Una Tomba Egiziana inedita della VI<sup>a</sup> Dinastia con Iscrizioni Storiche e Geografiche. Roma. 4to. 1892.

Reprint. Reale Accad. dei Lincei. Anno CCLXXXIX, 1892.

- From the Author:—F. E. Peiser. Die Hetitischen Inschriften. Ein Versuch ihrer Entzifferung nebst einer das weitere Studium Vorbereitenden, methodish geordneten ausgabe. Berlin. 8vo. 1892.
  - From the Author:—Dr. O. v. Lemm. Koptische Aprokryphe Apostelacten. II. St. Pétersburg. Folio. 1892.

    Reprint. Mélanges Asiatiques. Tome X.
- From the Author:—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Die Milchverwandtschaft im Alten Ägypten. Lunden. 8vo. 1892.

  Am-ur-Ouell. III Band, IX Heft.
- From the Author:—M. G. Marmier. Recherches Géographiques sur la Syrie Antique. Paris. 8vo. 1892.

Reprint. Bull. Soc. de Géogr. 4e Trimestre. 1891.

- From the Author:—Dr. Paul Haupt. Report on [the] International Congress of Orientalists. Washington. 8vo. 1891.

  Reprint. Smithsonian Report for 1890.
- From the Author:—Prof. A. Müller, Ph.D. Memoir of Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer. 8vo. Washington. 1892.
  - , Reprint. Smithsonian Report, 1889.
- From the Author:—Bishop John P. Newman, D.D., LL.D. The Mission of Science, [a paper read] before The North-western University [New York, U.S.A.]

"Commencement, June 16, 1892."

- From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittîm o Hethei, e delle loro migrazioni. Cap. XX. 8vo. 1892. Civiltà Cattolica, Serie XV. Chap. XX. 1892.
- From the Rev. Robert Gwynne (Secretary for Foreign Correspondence):—Catalogue of Antiquities from Tell el-Amarna, Upper Egypt, excavated by W. M. Flinders Petrie. 8vo. 1892.

From the Rev. Robert Gwynne (Secretary for Foreign Correspondence):—Die Vorstellung vom Μονόκερων und ihr ursprung, von Eb. Schrader.

Reprint. Acad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1892. xxxi. 8vo.

Purchased by the Council:—A Catalogue of Books, Manuscripts,
Letters, etc., belonging to the Dutch Church, Austin Friars,
London, Deposited in the Library of the Corporation of the
City of London. 8vo. 1879. Privately Printed.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 6th December, 1892:—

Mrs. Aitken, 27, Great King Street, Edinburgh.

Miss Brocklehurst, Bagstones, Macclesfield.

Miss Cropper, Eller Green, near Kendal.

Thomas Goffey, "Amalfi," Blundell Sands, near Liverpool.

William Sutherland Hunter, Kildonan, Pollokshields, Glasgow.

Rev. Harry Hamilton Jackson, M.A., Cheriton, Bromley Common, Kent.

The President in opening the twenty-third Session of the Society, offered some remarks on certain subjects discussed in the year just elapsed, which were of special interest to the Society.

A summary of these remarks on, (I) the Pharaoh of the Exodus; (2) the relations between the Old Egyptian and the Semitic languages; and (3) the relations between the Chinese language and the Accadian or Sumerian, will appear in the ensuing number of the *Proceedings*.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead. A Translation with commentary of the XVIIIth Chapter.

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy, the Rev. C. J. Ball, the Rev. Canon Beechey, and the President.

A Paper by W. Francis Ainsworth, F.S.A., "The Two Captivities: The Habor and the Chebar," was postponed owing to the lateness of the hour.

#### THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

(Continued from Vol. XIV, Part 8.)

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

[Introductory.]

The An-maut (1) saith:-

I come to you, ye Great Circles of gods(2) in Heaven, upon Earth and in the World below! I bring to you N void of offence towards any of the gods, grant that he may be with you daily.

Glory to Osiris, Lord of Restau, and to the great gods who are in the World below. Here is N who saith:—Hail to thee, Prince of Amenta, Unneferu who presidest in Abydos, I come to thee with Righteousness; without sin upon me. I am not knowingly a speaker of wrong; I am not given to duplicity; grant me Bread, the right of appearance at the tables of the Lords of Maāt, entering in and going out of the Netherworld, and that my soul may not suffer repulse in its devotion to the orb of the Sun and the vision of the Moon-god for ever.

The Se-meri-f saith:-

I come to you, O Circle of gods in Restau, and I bring to you N. Grant to him Bread, Water, Air and an allotment in the Sechithotepu like Horus.

Glory to Osiris, the Lord of Eternity and to the Circle of gods in Restau. Here is N and he saith:—I come to thee, I know thy will, and I am furnished with thine attributes of the Tuat. Grant me an abiding place in the Netherworld by the Lords of Maāt, my permanent allotment in the Sechit-hotepu, and the receiving of cakes before thee.

## [LITANY.]

1. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let N be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Circle of gods about  $R\bar{a}$  and about Osiris and the Great Circle of gods in Heliopolis, on that Night of the *Eve's Provender(3)* and the Night of Battle when there befel the Defeat of the Sebau, and the Day of the extinction of the adversaries of the Inviolate god.

The Great Circle of gods in Heliopolis is of Tmu, Shu and Tefnut, and the Sebau who were defeated and extinguished were the associates of Sut on the renewal of his assault.

2. Oh Thoth who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let N be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries before the Great Circle of gods in Tattu, on the Night wherein the Tat is set up in Tattu (4).

The Great Circle of gods in Tattu is of Osiris, Isis, Nephthys and Horus the Avenger of his Father; and they who set up the Tat are the two arms of Horus, Prince of Sechem. They are behind Osiris as bindings of his raiment.

3. Oh Thoth who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let N be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in Sechem on that Night of the Eve's Provender in Sechem.

The Great Circle of gods in Sechem is of Horus in the Dark (5), and Thoth, who is of the Great Circle of An-arer-ef.

The Eve's Provender is the dawn upon the Coffin of Osiris.

4. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let N be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in Pu and Tepu (6), on that Night of erecting the pillars of Horus, and of establishing him as heir of his Father's property.

The Great Circle of gods in Pu and Tepu is of Horus, Isis, Emsta, Hapi; and the pillars of Horus are erected when Horus saith to those who follow him "let the pillars be erected there."

5. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods of the Two Shores\* of Rechit, on that Night when Isis lay watching in tears over her brother Osiris.

The Great Circle of gods on the Two Shores of Rechit is of Isis, Nephthys, Emsta and Hapi.

6. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let N be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest

\* The later recensions read \* The first Coffin of Mentuhotep (Aelleste Texte, 4, 61) has the phonetic .

Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in Abydos on the night of Hakra (7), when the evil dead are parted off, when the glorious ones are rightly judged, and joy goeth its round in Thinis.

The Great Circle of gods in Abydos is of Osiris, Isis and Apuat.

7. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let N be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods on the Highway of the Danned (8), upon the Night when judgment is passed upon those who are no more.

The Great Circle of gods on the Highway of the Damned are Thoth, Osiris, Anubis and Astes. And judgment is passed on the Highway of the Damned when the suit is closed\* against the souls of the Children of Failure.

8. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods at the Great Hoeing in Tattu, on the Night of Hoeing in their blood and effecting the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries.

The Great Circle of gods at the Great Hoeing in Tattu (9), when the associates of Sut arrive, and take the forms of goats, slay them before the gods there, while their blood runneth down; and this is done according to the judgment of those gods who are in Tattu.

9. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let N be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in An-arer-ef on the Night of Hiding him who is Supreme in Attributes.†

The Great Circle of gods in An-arer-ef is of Shu, Babai, Rā and Osiris, and the Night of Hiding him who is Supreme of Attributes is when there are at the Coffin, the Thigh, the Head, the Heel and the Leg of Unneferu.

10. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let N be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries before the Great

Circle of gods in Restau on the Night when Anubis lieth (10) with his hands upon the objects behind Osiris, when Osiris is made to triumph over his adversaries.

The Great Circle of gods in Restau is of Osiris, Horus, and Isis. The heart of Horus rejoiceth, the heart of Osiris is glad and the two Parts \* of Heaven are satisfied when Thoth effecteth the triumph of N before these ten Great Circles about Rā and about Osiris and the Circles of gods attached to every god and every goddess before the Inviolate god. All his adversaries are destroyed and all that was wrong in him is also destroyed.

Let the person say this chapter, he will be purified and come forth by day, after his death, and take all forms for the satisfaction of his will, and if this chapter be recited over him, he will be prosperous upon earth, he will come forth safe from every fire, and no evil thing will approach him: with undeviating regularity for times infinite (11).

#### NOTES.

The eighteenth chapter is one of those found in the earliest copies of the Book of the Dead, on the wooden coffins of the 'Old' and 'Middle' Empires; the most complete ancient copy being on the coffin of Queen Mentuhotep of the eleventh dynasty.

It consists of a Litany addressed to Thoth, who is invoked for securing the triumph of the departed against his adversaries in presence of the gods of certain localities. Each petition has reference to some mythological event, and is supplemented by the enumeration of the gods constituting the divine company presiding at the locality named, and sometimes by a short comment on the myth referred to.

The order of petitions is somewhat different in the later recensions, and the text has suffered other alterations.

Copies of this chapter are extremely numerous, particularly in the later periods.

The chapter really begins with the petitions to Thoth. The preceding portion is, as far as I know, found only in the Papyrus of Ani. But as the vignette which belongs to this portion has a place in the great Leyden Papyrus of Kenna, the text cannot have been confined to a single manuscript. It is particularly valuable as illustrative of the ritual use of portions of the Book of the Dead.

the deceased person is supposed to be presented to the gods by two priests in succession, one called An-maut-ef formular and the other seemerif. Both names are titles of Horus, and it is the usual thing for Egyptian priests to bear divine titles; their ritual observances being dramatic and symbolical representations of the actions of the gods. An-maut-ef literally signifies 'column (support) of his mother.' Horus is called the An-maut-ef of the Great Company of the gods' (Mariette, Abydos, I, p. 34), and in Denkmäler, III, 206 e, he is called the An-maut-ef of Osiris (cf. Abyd. II, 54).

Se-meri-f signifies 'the Beloved Son,' and the priest of this name in the funereal rites personified Horus in his dutiful offices to his father Osiris. I do not know why translated 'the son who loves him,' instead of 'the son he loves,' which is the right meaning. I is 'the place which he loves' not 'the place which loves him.' And similarly is 'the wife whom he loves,' not 'who loves him.'

2. There is a short note (6) on Chapter 1, upon the word  $\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcup_{j=1}^$ 

The ancient form  $\bigcap$  renders it more than probable that  $\bigtriangledown$  is not phonetic in the later form, but that as in  $\bigvee$   $\bigwedge$   $\bigwedge$   $\bigwedge$   $\bigwedge$  coriginally  $\bigvee$   $\bigwedge$  (whence the Coptic KOT, KWTE, a circle, a round vessel, to go round), it is ideographic of roundness. This concept is certainly to be found in the word  $\bigwedge$   $\bigcap$ , the Coptic XWX, a head (or rather top of the head), as in the Latin vertex, akin to vortex, from the same root as vertere. The sign  $\bigcap$ , which in later texts is often put instead of  $\bigcap$  offers some difficulty, but the weight of probability is against its being phonetic in this place. Instead of  $\bigcap$  we also find  $\bigcap$ , which is certainly not phonetic but ideographic of enclosure, as in the word  $\bigwedge$   $\bigcap$  a wall, paries,  $\bigcap$   $\bigcap$  . This word occurs already in the Pyramid Texts under the form  $\bigwedge$   $\bigcap$  . See Pepi I, 571, which M. Maspero renders 'la Grande

Enceinte d'On.' The evident etymological relationship to the Coptic **xwx** has led some scholars to translate the Egyptian word as signifying *chiefs*, *princes*. But though the lexicons give *dux* and *princeps* as meanings of the Coptic word, these are but secondary applications of *head*. We have to enquire why **xwx** means *head*, or *top of the head*. And the reason is its roundness, as indicated by the ideographic signs  $\bigtriangledown$  or  $\bigcirc$ .

The old Egyptian word invariably implies an association of persons, and this is why in consequence of its etymology

I translate it as 'Circle of gods.'

- 3. The Eve's Provender. Later authorities read to be intelligible. According to the pantheistic system the deceased through his identification with the Sun absorbed and consumed all that came in his way. And this is expressed in somewhat brutal style. Men and gods disappear before Unas, he makes his breakfast at dawn upon the minor deities, oh, and 'his supper at even' and is the ancient dialectic variant of things' has, like the Latin res, a wide application. It frequently means property, estate, and sometimes suit.
- 4. On the last day of the month of Choiak the great solemnity of setting up the Tat as the symbol of Osiris was observed down to the latest periods. The tablets of Pasherenptah, high priest of Ptah at Memphis, speak of this great dignitary as the king's second or deputy in 'Raising the Tat.' But Brugsch has published a picture (Thesaurus, V, 1190), copied by Dr. Erman from a tomb of the XVIIIth dynasty, in which Amenophis III himself helps to raise the Tat, and the queen Ti and the royal princesses take part in the ceremony. The procession is described as marching four times round the sanctuary of Ptah-Seker-Osiris.
- 5. On Horus in the Dark, or Blindness, or Invisibility, see my note, *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, June, 1886.

- 6. Pu and Tepu are named together in the earliest texts as one locality, which is recognised by Brugsch as the metropolis of the northern nome called by the Greeks  $\Phi\theta\epsilon\nu\dot{\delta}\tau\eta$ s.
- 7. The feast of derives its name, as Goodwin supposes with great probability, from the words ha-k-er-a, 'Come thou to me,' said of a legendary incident like that mentioned at the end of note 15 on Chapter XVII. The early papyri read but this is no objection, the sign being here the determinative of the entire group which gives its name to the feast.
- 8. It is those who have died 'the second death.'
- 9. The vignette is given by M. Naville from the tracing taken by Lepsius of the now lost Papyrus Busca. It represents 'the Great Hoeing in Tattu.' The long text at Dendera (Mariette, tom. IV, pl. 39) contains directions to be observed on the festival commemorative of the ancient myth. Two black cows are put under a yoke of  $\bigcap \bigcap am$  wood, the plough is of tamarisk wood and the share of black bronze. The plougher goes behind, with a cow led by a halter. A little child with the lock 2 attached to its head is to scatter the seed in the field of Osiris, a piece of land of which the dimensions were given in the text (now imperfect). Barley is sown at one end, spelt at the other, and flax between the two. And the Cher-heb in chief recites the Office for the Sowing of the Field.
  - 10. The older texts have | lie, the later ones | lay.
- used by builders, and em šes signifies 'ad amussim,' 'nach der Schnur,' 'au cordeau,' 'according to the line,' hence 'with the strictest accuracy.' Hibbert Lectures, 1879, p. 121. 'According to the line of Maāt' means 'with undeviating regularity.'

### CHAPTER XIX.

## Chapter of the Crown of Triumph.

Thy Father Tmu has prepared for thee this beautiful Crown of Triumph, the living diadem which the gods love, that thou mayest live for ever. Osiris, Prince of Amenta, maketh thee to triumph over thine adversaries. Thy Father Seb hath decreed that thou should be his heir, and be heralded as Triumphant, Horus son of Isis and son of Osiris, upon the throne of thy Father Rā, through the defeat of thine adversaries. He hath decreed for thee the Two Earths, absolutely and without condition (1). And so hath Atmu decreed, and the Cycle of the gods hath repeated the glorious act of the triumph of Horus the son of Isis and the son of Osiris for ever and ever.

Osiris, the Prince of Amenta, the Two Parts of Heaven united, all gods and all goddesses who are in heaven and upon earth join in effecting the Triumph of Horus the son of Isis and son of Osiris over his adversaries before the Great Circle of gods in Heliopolis, on the Night, etc.

Horus repeateth the proclamation four times. All the adversaries fall and are overthrown and slaughtered.

 ${\cal N}$  repeateth the proclamation four times, and all his adversaries fall and are overthrown and slaughtered.

Horus son of Isis and son of Horus repeateth an infinite number of festivals, and all his adversaries fall down, are overthrown and slaughtered. Their abode is transferred to the slaughtering block of the East, their heads are cut away, their necks are crushed, their thighs are lopped off, they are given to the great Annihilator who resideth in the Valley (2) that they may not ever escape from under the custody of Seb (3).

This chapter is said over a consecrated crown placed upon the face of the person, and thou shalt put incense upon the flame, for N (the deceased), effecting his triumph over all his adversaries, whether Dead or Living, that he may become one of the followers of Osiris. And there shall be given to him drink and food in presence of this god. Thou shall say it at dawn twice; A great protection is it: with undeviating regularity for times infinite.

#### Notes.

The nineteenth chapter is a very recent recension of the eighteenth. The MSS. containing it, as far as we know, are not older than the Greek period. It derives its origin from the practice of placing garlands or floral crowns upon the mummies. The mummy of Aahmes I, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, when

found "portait au cou," M. Maspero writes, "une guirlande de jolies fleurs roses de *Delphinium orientale*." Remains of such crowns are to be found in our Museums. For farther details I must refer to an excellent paper entitled *La Couronne de la Justification*, by Dr. Pleyte of Leyden, in the second volume of the Transactions of the Oriental Congress held at Leyden in 1884.

- 1. This adverbial expression is apparently connected with , and I therefore understand it in the sense of ἀποτόμως, praecisè, absolutely, without condition.
- 2. the Valley of Darkness (Todt., 130, 6) and Death, "whose secrets are absolutely unknown" \( \times \)
  - 3. That is they shall remain interred for ever.

### CHAPTER XX.

The twentieth chapter is entitled Another Chapter of Crown of Triumph, but it is simply a tabulated form of Chapter XVIII, with the Rubric. Let the person say this Chapter, and purify himself with water of natron, he will come forth by day after death, and take all forms according to his wish, and escape from the fire. With undeviating regularity for times infinite. The earliest example of this tabulated form of the chapter is found on the Berlin Sarcophagus of Mentuhotep.

N.B.—The Plates illustrating these Chapters will be issued with the next Part of the *Proceedings*.—W.H.R.



## YÂ AND YÂWA (JAH AND JAHWEH) IN ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

#### By Theo. G. Pinches.

Since that time, I have accumulated a large amount of material tending to confirm this identification, and among the many names containing the divine element Ya may be quoted the following:—

- אבייני, Bêl-ya-u, "Bel is Ya" (S+. 390; S+. 379\*), ancestor of a man named Nergal-epuš, father of Éa-ibnî, who, in his turn, was father of a woman named Gula-ka'išat. (Apparently a genuine Babylonian family.) Bel-Yau corresponds with the Heb. בּלֵיבִי, the name of one of David's sons (I Chron. xii, 5).
- ן בּבּן בּבּוּץ אָן בּוּןוּבּ, Na-ad-bi-ya-a-u,† an Assyrian officer bearing the title of בּבְּינִה בּוֹן בּבּין בּבְּין בּבּין בּיבּין בּבּין בּבּין בּבּין בּיבּין בּבּין בּבּין בּיבּין בּיבּין בּבּין בּיין בּבּין בּיין בּבּין בּיבּין בּיבּין בּיין בּיבּין בּיבּין בּיין בּיבּין בּיבּין בּיבּין בּיבּין בּיבּין בּיין בּיבּין בּיבּין בּיבּין בּיין בּיבּין בּיין בּיין בּיבּין בּיבּין בּיין בּיבין בּיבּין בּיין בּיבּין בּיין בּיבּין בּיין בּיבּין בּיין בּיבין בּיין בּיבּין בּיין בּיבּין בּיין בּייין בּיין בּיין בּיין בּיין בּיין בּיין בּיין בּייין בּיין בּיין בּיין בּיין בּיין בּייין ב

<sup>\* 10</sup>th and 11th years of Nabonidus (Strassmaier, nos. 461 and 508).

<sup>†</sup> W.A.I. III, pl. 49, no. 1, l. 30

Tablet S. 30.

- Y -+ YY ( A -+ ( D.PP.) A-u-na'-di (Au-na'idi), apparently = Yau-na'idi, "Ya is glorious." Eponymy of Barku-rîmani.
- ן בְּרָרְיֵאֵל בְּרְיִאֵל, Gab-ri-ya (Gabri-Ya), a parallel to בָּרְרִיאֵל,

The number of names compounded with the divine monosyllable Aa or Ya is too great to be quoted here, but the examples given above will probably suffice to prove its existence—if proof be needed. It will be noted that all these forms (Ya, Yau, Yâu, Aa, Au, Aa'u) correspond with the Hebrew terminal forms and full cunless, as is possible, the terminal of the latter be not the nominative ending corresponding with the u of the forms Yau, Yâu, Au, Au, Au, Au). ‡

All the above cited forms are both early and late; but there is another form (found in names occurring during the captivity) which is of the highest interest, and may prove to be of importance.

The earliest tablet known to me containing this form is 82-9-18, 4215, dated in the 10th year of Darius Hystaspis. The name in which it occurs is as follows:—

## Y = Y = EYY YY EY, Ga-mar-ya-a-ma (or -wa).

This name is given as the father of a witness (whose name is lost) to the sale of a slave.§

On another tablet (82-7-14, 550), probably of about the same date, there occurs, among a list of workmen, the name:—

## Y - Na-ta-nu-ya-a-ma (or -wa).

This same tablet also gives a form without the  $\succeq$ , i (or  $\succeq V$ , va):—

Y EY Ba-na-a-ma (or -wa).

\* W.A.I. III, pl. 47, no. 3, l. 3. + 82-9-18, 4074.

‡ In view of the above, the question naturally arises whether, in the nam

Nabri-ya-a-sri (82-3-23, 3170), we have the same divine name. If this be the case, the translation would be "Nebo is his God" (Nabri-ya-su).

The tablet 82–7–14, 4175, rev., l. 4, gives also the very interesting form  $Y \succeq Y \iff \succeq V \Leftrightarrow V \succeq Y \Leftrightarrow Su-bu-nu-ya-a-ma$  (or wa), the Hebrew (אַבנָהר).

My opinion concerning these names I have already expressed in a paper read before the Philological Society on Feb. 1st, 1889.\* They seemed to me to be Hebrew names compounded with יהור, parallel to בְּנֵיְבָי, בְּנֵיְרִי, and בִּיִּרִי, parallel to יהור, I did not like to put this forward too emphatically, however, because, though convinced in my own mind that my asumption was correct, there was still the possibility that -yāma might be a termination of an entirely different nature.

Two more examples of this ending having come to light, however, I am now in a position to state that the termination is really to be read -yâwa, and that it is a synonym of îlu and yâ (= Jah). The new name proving this, which occurs on 82-5-22, 1394 (reign of one of the Artaxerxes) is as follows:—

Y | Y | Z E | E | A-ka-bi-ya-wa (Akabi-Yawa).

This is a parallel to the names און אלי בין, Akabu-ya (83–1–18, 173†), and און אין בין, Akabi-ilu (Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. VIII, pp. 284, 285, and 295), the last being probably the name of a Syrian.‡ The defective writing of בין אין, ya-wa, for בין אין, ya-a-wa (see above), makes no difficulty. The Rev. C. J. Ball tells me that the Heb. form of this name occurs in Aboth iii, 1, as עקביה, thus clinching the matter.

The occurrence of the above-mentioned names adds one more testimony to the true pronunciation of יהוד, and shows that, during the time of the Persian rulers of Babylon, the Jews had no objection to pronouncing the name which is now generally read as Jehovah.

To the speculations as to the origin of הוה may be added the question whether it is not a derivative from קה, formed, by analogy, upon a real or supposed etymological connection between מלוה.

<sup>\*</sup> See the Academy, Feb. 19th, 1889. Cf. Records of the Past, N.S. Vol. IV, p. 107.

<sup>†</sup> Strassmaier, Nabonidus, No. 542.

<sup>‡</sup> The text in which the name Akabi-flu occurs relates to a family the father of which was a Syrian, who in his native country, must have borne the name of Ben-Hadad-nathan, but who was called by the Babylonians Abil-Addu-natanu.

## LETTRES DE TELL EL-AMARNA.

(5° Série.)

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

T.

### LES HABITANTS DE TUNIP AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(British Museum, 41.)

Si nous les comprenons bien, les habitants de Tunip, menacés par Azirou, protestent, preuves en main, de leur fidélité à l'Egypte, fidélité qui ne s'est pas démentie depuis les jours, déjà éloignés, de Totmès III. Le roi d'Egypte, de son côté, ne leur tient pas sa promesse de protection; il ne répond pas même à leurs multiples messages. L'auteur de tout le mal, c'est Azirou, qui les fait passer pour traîtres. De la sorte, il s'emparera de leur ville, la maltraitera, et la détachera du service de l'Egypte, comme il l'a déjà fait pour les villes de Nî et de Zoumour, tombées en son pouvoir; et cette fois encore, le roi éprouvera du dommage. Tunip est dans la dernière détresse, et celui qui devrait le plus s'intéresser à elle, s'obstine dans son indifférence.

#### TRANSCPRIPTION.

- 1. A-na šar mat Mi-iș-ri bi-ili-ni,
- 2. um-ma: mari maḥazi Du-ni-ip amil ardu-ka-ma.
- 3. A-na muhhi-ka lu-u šul-mu,
- 4. u a-na ši-pa bili-ni ni-am-kut.
- 5. Bili-ni um-ma: maḥazu Du-ni-ip, amil ardu-ka, ik-ta-bi:
- 6. maḥazu Du-ni-ip ma-an-nu i-na pa-na-nu-um
- 7. u-uš-sa-bu-šu? La u-uš-sa-bu-šu
- 8. Ma-na-aḥ-bi-ir-ia? Kaniša-tu am-ma-ti i-ni-tam.
- 9. Ilani-šu u i-mu-ga-aš-šu kanšiš na-ab-ri. Il-la-an
- 10. ša šar mat Mi-iș-ri bi-ili-ni ina maḥazu Du-ni-ip aš-bu-nim;
- 11. u li-iš-al-šu-nu bi-ili-ni la-bi-ru-ti kanišati am-ma-ti.
- 12. U i-nu-ma-mi ni-i-nu ša-la bi-ili-ni šar mat Mi-is-ri

- 13. U i-na-an-na XX šanîti a-na šarri bi-ili-ni ni-iš-tap-ru,
- 14. u amiluti mar šipri-ni a-na šarri bi-ili-ni aš-bu-nim;
- 15. u i-na-an-na, bi-ili-ni ia-ki ilu Adda,
- 16. a-na šarri bi-ili-ni ni-ir-ri-iš šu-nim,
- 17. u li-id-din-šu bi-ili-ni.
- 18. U bilu-ni, ia-ki ilu Adda, šar mat Mi-iṣ-ri
- 19. id-din; u a-na mi-nim šar-ru bi-ili-ni
- 20. i-na harran-ni i-ta-ar-ra-aš-šu?
- 21. U i-na-an-na A-zi-ra amila arda-ka
- 22. amil nakar is-šir-ka i-ši-im-mi-šu-nu;
- 23. u i-na mat Ha-at-at,
- 24. na-mur-ra-tum ik-šu-ud-šu-nu.
- 25. U i-nu-ma sabi-šu u narkabati-šu
- 26. ih-ru-num-mi;
- 27. u ni-i-nu, A-zi-ra
- 28. ki-i-ma maḥaza Ni-i i-it-bu-uš-šu-ni.
- 29. Šum-ma ni-i-nu-ma ga-a-la-nu,
- 30. u šar mat Mi-iṣ-ri i-ga-al-mi.
- 31. Aš-šum a-ma-ti an-ni-tum ša i-ib-bu-šu-nu
- 32. A-zi-ra, i-nu-ma-mi 🛋 × šu-ta
- 33. a-na muḥ-ḥi bi-ili-ni li-ma-aš-šir-ru.
- 34. U i-nu-ma-mi A-zi-ra maḥaza Ṣu-mu-ri i-ru-bu
- 35. u i-ti-bu-uš-šu-nu A-zi-ra
- 36. ša lib-bi-šu, i-na bit-ti
- 37. ša šar-ri bi-ili-ni, u aš-šum a-ma-ti
- 38. an-(ni)-tum bi-ili-ni i-ga-al-mi.
- 39. U i-na-an-na maḥazu Du-ni-ip,
- 40. maḥazu-ka, i-ba bu-ki,
- 41. u ti-ma-ti-šu i-la-bu,
- 42. u șa-ba-ti-šu ša 云 ≺ šu-nu-ni ia-nu-um.
- 43. Ni-i-nu-ma a-na šarri bi-ili-ni šar Mi-iṣ-ri.
- 44. a-na XX šanîti ni-iš-tap-ru,
- 45. u a-ma-at ša bi-ili-ni
- 46. išt-in a-na mu-uḥ-ḥi-nı la i-kaš-sa-ad-nu.

#### TRADUCTION.

- (1) Au roi du pays de Misri, notre maître, (2) en ces termes: Les habitants de Tunip tes serviteurs. (3) A toi salut, (4) et nous nous prosternons aux pieds de notre maître.
- (5) Notre maître, en ces termes [nous parlons]. La ville de Tunip, [dont les habitants sont] tes serviteurs, dit: (6) La ville de Tunip, qui, jadis, (7) en a reçu les serments? (7, 8) N'est-ce pas Manakhbiria qui les a reçus? Cette soumission est ancienne (9) Nous avons reconnu avec soumission ses dieux et sa puissance. Les statues (10) du roi de Misri, notre maître, se trouvent dans la ville de Tunip; (11) que notre maître les interroge sur la durée de cette soumission. (12) Et cependant il nous abandonne notre maître, le roi de Misri.
- (13) Nous avons maintenant envoyé vingt fois nos messages au roi notre maître, (14) et nos messagers se trouvent chez le roi notre maître, [attendant en vain]. (15) Et maintenant, ô notre maître, [toi] lié par serment au dieu Adda [notre dieu], (16) nous demandons une réponse au roi notre maître. (17) Que notre maître veuille bien la donner. (18) Notre maître, lié au dieu Adda, le roi de Misri, (19) [en] avait donné [une précédemment]. Mais pourquoi le roi notre maître (20) l'a-t-il arrêtée en chemin?
- (21, 22) Et maintenant Azirou a représenté tes serviteurs comme des ennemis de ta prospérité, (23) et au pays de Khatti, (24) on est saisi de frayeur; (25) car voilà que ses soldats et ses chars, (26) se sont mis en marche.
  - (27, 28) Et nous, Azirou nous traitera comme la ville de Nî.
- (29) Si nous, nous sommes lésés, (30) le roi de Misri le sera. (30) A cause de ce que leur a fait (31) Azirou, voilà (32, 33) qu'ils ont cessé [les habitants de Ní] de rendre obéissance au roi notre maître. (34) Lorsque Azirou fut entré dans la ville de Zoumour, (35) Azirou leur fit [aux habitants] (36) ce qu'il lui plut, [et cela] dans la maison [le royaume] (37) du roi notre maître, (37, 38) et notre maître en éprouve du dommage.
- (39) Et maintenant la ville de Tunip, (40) ta ville, pousse des sanglots, (41) et ses larmes sont enflammées, (42) et nous n'avons pas de réponse à attendre.
- (43) Nous, au roi notre maître, au roi de Misri, (44) nous avons envoyé message jusqu'à vingt fois, (45) et nouvelles de notre maître (46) à nous adressées ne nous sont pas parvenues une seule fois.

### REMARQUES.

Ligne 2.—Amil ardu-ka, singulier collectif.

Ligne 7.—*Ušsabu*, pour *uššabu*, forme particulière de schafel, de la racine שֵׁבֶשׁ. *Cf.* Delitzsch, *Gram.*, § 85.

Lignes 8, 9, 11.—Kanišatu ou kaššatu, kanšiš, voir Brünnow, 7322, 7325.

Ligne 9.—*Illan* est un pluriel, comme l'indique aš-bu-nim, 3° p. pl. permansif d'ašabu. Ce verbe rend fort naturel le sens de statues que nous attribuons à illan. Peut-être aussi est-ce un pluriel de ilu, dieu; illan étant une expression incorrecte pour ilan. Il s'agirait dans ce cas de statues de divinités égyptiennes. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce sont des monuments qui attestent la prise de possession de Tunip par Manakhbiria autrement dit Totmès III, et qui ont été respectés, en signe de soumission à l'Egypte, jusqu'à Amenophis III, ou Amenophis IV, auquel s'adresse la lettre.

Ligne 11.—*Lišalšunu* = qu'il les interroge, au figuré. Ces monuments témoignent par le fait qu'ils sont toujours là.

Ligne 13.—Je crois que l'idéogramme  $\stackrel{*}{\triangleright}$ , qui exprime l'idée de sattu, pl. sanâti, année, représente ici le mot très voisin sani-tu, fois. L'idéogramme est suivi d'un double signe du pluriel.—Je ne pense pas que la construction, surtout à la ligne 44, où le mot revient, permette de lire sanâti, années, et d'interpréter: Depuis vingt ans nous nous adressons au roi.

Ligne 22.—Isšir, pour iššir. Cf. hebr. つじゃ.

Lignes 23, 24.—Tunip, d'après la manière dont nous comprenons le texte, ferait partie du pays de Khatti.

Ligne 32.—Je ne sais comment il faut lire l'idéogramme (Qui en cet endroit, comme à la ligne 42, doit exprimer un nom renfermant l'idée de rendre, renvoyer. Toutefois, je me demande si l'idéogramme n'est pas à lire šunu ou šuni, et si à la ligne 42, le

mot *šunu* n'est pas écrit deux fois, d'abord idéographiquement et ensuite en toutes syllabes, comme *ṣabi ṣa-bi* (Berlin, 31, ligne 4), pour ne citer qu'un exemple de cet usage propre à nos lettres.

#### II.

## Addu-nirar, Prince de Noukhassi, au Roi d'Egypte.

## (Berlin, 30.)

Le commencement de cette pièce, très mutilée, a excité un certain intérêt, à cause du signataire de la lettre, un prétendu fils de Manakhbiya ou Manakhbiria, c'est-à-dire de Totmès III, que son père aurait-doté d'un apanage en Syrie.

#### TRANSCRIPTION.

- 1. (A)-na ilu Šamši, šarri bi-ili-ia, šar mat Mi-is-ri
- 2. um-ma: Adda-ni-ra-ri, ardu-ka-ma.
- 3. A-na šipa bi-ili-ia am-kut.
- 4. . . . I-nu-ma Ma-na-aḥ-bi-ia šar mat Mi-iṣ-ri a-bi-ia
- 5. . . . . . . . i-na mat Nu-ha-aš-šī
- 6. a-na šar-ru-ut i-ib-bu-ša-aš-šu, u > a-na ķaķķadu-šu
- 7. iš-ku-un-šu . . . . . .

#### TRADUCTION.

- (1) Au dieu Soleil, le roi mon maître, roi de Misri, (2) en ces termes: Adda-nirar, ton serviteur. (3) Je me prosterne aux pieds de mon maître.
- (4) Lorsque Manakhbiya, roi de Misri, (4-6) eut élévé mon père à la royauté dans le pays de Noukhassi, (6, 7) et qu'il lui eut mis l'huile (?) sur la tête . . . . .

#### REMARQUES.

Lignes 4-9.—Ces lignes ne signifient point: "Lorsque Manakhbiya, roi de Misri, mon père, m'eut établi roi en Noukhassi . . ." Pour traduire ainsi, il faut donner à šu, qui signifie lui, le sens de moi. D'ailleurs Addu-nirar (plutôt que Raman-nirar, pour un prince syrien), s'il a été établi roi par Totmès III, et qu'il écrive à Aménophis III, ou à Aménophis IV, a régné par trop longtemps. Il se peut même que celui qu'il appelle son père, soit son grand-père.

Lignes 6, 7.—L'idéogramme peut exprimer *šamnu*, huile. La phrase signifierait bien: Lorsque tu lui eus assuré l'abondance, et la joie qu'elle procure. Ce serait la même image qu'au psaume xxiii, y, 6.

#### III.

### AZIROU AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

## (Berlin, 34.)

Cette lettre en rappelle une autre, traduite par nous dans les *Proceedings* (mars, 1891), dans laquelle un officier du roi d'Egypte, intime au chef du pays d'Amourou, probablement à Azirou.lui-même, l'ordre de livrer divers personnages gravement compromis.

#### TRANSCRIPTION.

- 1. A-na sarri bili-ia ili-ia Šamši-ia.
- 2. um-ma: A-zi-ru ardu-ka-ma.
- 3. VII šanîtu u VII šanita a-na šipa bili-ia am-kut...
- 4. A-nu-um-ma mi-ru-iš-tû
- 5. ša í-ti-ir-ru-iš

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- 6. ilu Šamšu bilu-ia, a-na-ku ardu-ka
- 7. a-di ta-ru-i-ti (ibbuš),
- 8. u marani-ia ardani-ka.
- 9. A-nu-um-ma II amiluti . . . .
- 10. at-ta-din marani . . .
- 11. u li-ib-bu-šu-(ma)
- 12. ša i-ķab-bi (šarru bilu-ia),
- 13. u li-ma-aš-šir-(šu-nu)
- 14. i-na mat A-mur-(ri).

#### TRADUCTION.

- (1) Au roi, mon maître, mon dieu, mon soleil, (2) en ces termes: Azirou ton serviteur. (3) Sept fois et sept fois, aux pieds de mon maître, je me me prosterne.
- (4) Voici que [tout] désir (5) que formera (6) le dieu Soleil, mon maître, moi, ton serviteur, (7) toujours je l'exécuterai, (8) et mes fils sont tes serviteurs.
- (9, 10) Voilà que j'ai remis [à tes agents] deux hommes de . . . fils [ou gens] de . . . (11) Qu'ils fassent (12) ce que le roi dira, (13) et qu'ils les renvoie [qu'il veuille bien les renvoyer] (14) au pays d'Amourou.

### REMARQUES.

Lignes 4, 5, 6.—Mi-ru-iš-tu, i-ti-ir-ru-iš, ta-ru-i-ti, sont à lire miristi, itirris, tariti. On a de même dans la lettre des habitants de Tunip, ligne 4, ni-am-kut pour namkut. Dans ces mots, les caractères que nous avons rendus ru, ni, représentaient, pour les scribes auxquels les correspondances furent dictées, les consonnes r, n. Si ceux qui écrivaient ainsi n'ont pas simplifié leur écriture syllabique en écriture alphabétique, c'est qu'ils n'ont pas voulu; car l'avant-dernier pas dans cette voie, c'est l'abstraction de la consonne. Voir nos considérations sur ce sujet dans la brochure intitulée: Les inscriptions historiques de Ninive et de Babylone (Paris, Leroux), p. 7. A ce propos, nous nous rappelons avoir lu chez un assyriologue les lignes que voici: "Une langue qui ignore l'union de deux consonnes avant et après la voyelle, et l'assyrien est précisément une langue de cette nature, ne pouvant jamais inspirer l'idée de la consonne séparée de la voyelle, conserve naturellement le système syllabique adopté tout d'abord pour son expression. On comprend maintenant combien on est peu fondé à demander aux Assyrobabyloniens la création d'une écriture alphabétique." Mais qui nous prouvera que la langue assyrienne ne présentait pas de formes comme kâtalt et kâ-tlâ, et que dans ces cas, on ne supprimait pas dans la prononciation la voyelle adhérente aux caractères syllabiques?

#### IV.

# AMÉNOPHIS III À KALLIMMA-SIN, ROI DE BABYLONIE. (British Museum, 1.)

Aménophis III, désigné dans la lettre sous le nom de Nipmuariya, avait demandé, soit pour lui, soit pour un prince de sa famille, une fille de Kallimma-Sin, et celui-ci avait refusé en disant qu'on ne savait pas même ce qu'était devenue une princesse babylonienne, sa sœur à lui, envoyée précédemment par son père pour le harent du roi d'Egypte. Celui-ci, à l'en croire, avait montré la princesse, comblée d'honneurs, à des envoyés babyloniens, hommes d'extraction obscure malheureusement, qui n'avaient jamais eu occasion de la voir dans leur pays, et ainsi n'avaient pu constater son identité. En conséquence, il avait prié Kallimma-Sin de lui envoyer des gens plus propres à s'acquitter d'une pareille mission. Kallimma-

Sin avait répondu qu'une seconde ambassade envoyée à cet effet ne réussirait pas mieux que la première. Il avait tenu à cette occasion, dans sa lettre, d'autres propos blessants. Aménophis s'efforce de réfuter un à un tous ces reproches dans la lettre que nous traduisons ici, et dont une copie a été retrouvée dans les archives de Khoutnaton (Tell el-Amarna).

Aménophis semble n'avoir pas écrit jusque-là à Kallimma-Sin, mais avoir répondu verbalement à ses envoyés, lesquels, d'après lui, s'étaient fort mal acquittés des commissions dont il les avait chargés pour leur maître.

Si le texte de la dernière ligne de la lettre, marqué comme douteux par M. Bezold, est néanmoins exact, nous avons là la signature du scribe responsable, auteur de la copie destinée aux archives de Khoutnaton. Je crois qu'il en est réellement ainsi, car le nom, tel qu'il se lit, est assyrien et non égyptien.

#### TRANSCRIPTION.

- 1. A-na Ka-al-lim-ma-Sin šar mat Ka-ra-ilu-Du-ni-ia-aš,
- 2. aḥi-ia ki ṭim-ma um-ma: Ni-ip-mu-a-ri-a, šarru rabu,
- 3. šar mat Mi-is-ri-i ahu-ka-ma. A-na mah-ri-ia šul-mu.
- 4. A-na maḥ-ri-ka lu-u šul-mu; a-na biti-ka, a-na aššâti-ka,
- 5. a-na mari-ka, a-na amiluti rabuti-ka, sisi-ka,
- 6. narkabâti-ka, a-na kab-bi matâti-ka, da-an-ni-iš lu-u šul-mu.
- 7. A-na ia-ši šul-mu; a-na biti-ia, a-na aššâti-ia, a-na mari-ia,
- 8. a-na amiluti rabuti-ia, sisi-ia, narkabâti-ia,
- 9. şabi ma-ad šul-mu, u kab-bi matâti-ia rabiš šul-mu.
- 10. A-nu-um-ma aš-ti-mi a-ma-tam ša ta-aš-pu-ra ili-ši a-na ia-ši
- II. um-ma-a-mi: a-nu-um-ma tu-ba-a marat-ia a-na aššu-ut-ti-ka,
- 12. u a-ḥa-ti-ia ša id-di-na-ku a-bi-ia aš-ra-nu it-ti-ka,
- 13. u ma-am-ma u-ul i-mu-ur-ši i-na-an-na, šum-ma ba-al-ta-at,
- 14. šum-ma mi-ta-at. Ša ta-aš-pu-ra-an-ni i-na kab-bi dup-pi-ka
- 15. an-nu-tum a-ma-ţi-ka, u im-ma-ti ta-aš-pu-ra amilu ka-mi-rum
- 16. ša i-ti a-ḥa-at-ka, ša i-tab-bu-ub it-ti-ši
- 17. u u-ma-an-di-ši u li-it-bu-ub it-ti-ši?
- 18. Ṣabi ša ta-ša-ap-pa-ra ri-i-ķa mar šipri (išti-in),
- 20. i-ia-nu išt-in lib-bi-šu-(nu ša im-ma-ti-ma it)-ta-ka-ri-ib
- 21. a-na a-bi-ka (i-mu-ur a-ḥa-ti-ka). Ap-pu-na

22. amiluti mari sipri-ka (a-ḥ(a)-ti-ka u i-ḥa-bi-ši
23 $(i-k)ab-bi-\check{s}i$ $a-\check{s}i$
24
25 tim šu bat šu-la-tam a-na um-mi-ši.
26. U i-nu-ma ta-aš-pu-ra um-ma-am-mi : ta-ak-ta-bi-mi
27. a-na amiluti mari sipri-ia, u aššâti-ka pu-ḥu-rum iz-za-za-zu
28. i-na pa-ni-ka, um-ma-a: a-mur bi-il-ti-ku-nu ša iz-za-az
29. i-na pa-ni-ku-nu, u amiluti mari šipri-ia u-ul i-ti-ši,
30. ši-i a-ḥa-ti-ia ša itti ka-ša. A-nu-um-ma at-ta-ma
31. ta-aš-pu-ra um-ma-a: u-ul i-du-ši amiluti mari šipri-ia,
32. u ma-an-nu (lu)-mi-di-ši-ma ta-ķa-ab-bi: am-mi-ni
33. la ta-šap-pa-ra amilu ka-mi-rum ša i-kab-ba-ku a-ma-at ki-ti
34. šu-ul-ma-ni ša a-ḥa-ti-ka ša an-ni-ka-a?
35. u-ta-ka-ab ša ir-ru-ub a-na na-ma-ra ardatu (?)-ši,
36. u țim-ši it-ti šarri ; u i-nu-ma ta-aš-pu-ra
37. um-ma-a-mi: mi-in-di marata išt-in mu-uš-ki-nu,
38. u šum-ma išt-in mat Ga-ga-ia, šum-ma marat mat Ḥa-ni-gal-bi-i,
39. u mi-in-di ša mat U-ga-ri-it, ki ša i-mu-rum
40. amiluti mari šipri-ia, u ma-an-nu i-ķa-ab-šu-nu
41. ša itti kaša u-ul ip bi-ši,
42. u mi-im-ma u-ul i-ķa-ab-šu-(nu) an-nu-tum
43. a-ma-ṭi-ka u šum-ma mi-ta-at(aššat)-ka,
44. u ma-mi-nu u-ka-ta-mu di
45 nu-ši-zi-iz ša-ni-(ta)
46 ilu A-ma-nu-um a
7 / ** / * / 7 / *
47 ḥa-at aššati ra-(ba-ti)
48 bi-il-ti ip
49 gal-la-ti ša i
50. ili ka-li aššâtı
51. sa sarran sa mai Mi-iṣ-ri-i
53. marâti (a-na-an-din) i-na ašš-ut-ti it-ti šarrani ša mat Kar (?)-
ilu $(?)$ -Du $(?)$
54. U šum-ma amiluti mari šipri-ia aš-ra-nu u i-tab-bu-bu
55. itti-ši, (lu u)-ši-bi-lu-ni-in-ni šu-ul-ma-na.
56. Ša itti ka-(ša-ma) an-nu-tum a-ma-ti-ka, mi-in-ti šarrani
57. ša li-mi-(ti-ka), ša-ru-ti ra-bu-ti, maráti-ka
51. Su it-mi-(it-ku), su-ru-it ru-vu-it, muratt-ku

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- 58. i-ra-aš-šu-u, mi-im-ma it-ti-šu-nu u u-ši-bi-lu-ni-ku.
- 50. U mi-ni it-ti-ši a-ha-at-ka ša it-ti-ia u

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- 60. ta-ka-ša-ad mi-im-ma u u-ši-bi-la-ak-ku?
- 61. Damku ki-i ta-na-an-din marâti-ka a-na ra-ši kalbu-ta
- 62. ša li-mi-ti-ka, u i-nu-ma ta-aš-pu-ra a-ma-ti
- 63. ša a-bi-ia i-zi-ib, la ta-kab-bi a-ma-ti-šu.
- 64. Ap-pu-na-ma šu-ku-un a-hu-ut-ta ṭabati i-na bi-ri-nu
- 65. ša ta-aš-pu-ra an-nu-tum a-ma-ti-ka: a-nu-um-ma a-ḥa-nu
- 66. a-na-ku u at-ta ki-la-li-nu; u az-zi-il ili
- 67. amiluti mari sipri-ka ki-i i-ka-ab-bu-u pa-ni-ka um-ma-a: mi-im-ma
- 68. u-ul i-na-an-di-nu-na-ši ša i-la-ku i-na mat Mi-is-ri-i
- 69. (lu) il-la-ku-num mu-hi-ia, u i-la-ak išt-in lib-bi-ši-na
- 70. ....il-ti-ki kaspi, haraşi, šamni mahduti, şubati takalti mahduti ka-li-mi-ma
- 71..... mat ša-ni-ti u i-ķab-bi šu-di-ti kam damķi.
- 72. A-na ša a(i)-ip-par-šu, ištin-nu-ti it-ta-a-la-ku
- 73. amiluti mari šipri ana a-....di u pi-šu-nu za-ru-ti i-tab-bu-bu;
- 74. ša-nu-ti it-tal-ku-(ma) za-ru-ti i-tab-bu-bu-ni-ik-ku.
- 75. U ak-bi a-na-ku: šum-ma (a-na-an)-di-na-aš-šu-nu-ti mi-im-ma,
- 76. šum-ma u-ul a-na-an-din-šu-nu-(ti), i-tab-bu-bu ka-na-ma,
- 77. u as-ku-un-šu-nu-ti u-ul ap-(lu-uḥ)-ḥi-šu-nu-ti ap-pu-na-ma,
- 78. U i-nu-ma ta-aš-pu-ra um-ma-a: ta-ak-ta-bi
- 79. a-na amiluti mari šipri-ia um-ma-a: i-ia-nu šabi a-na bi-li-(ku-nu)
- 80. u u-ul ba-na-at zu-ha-ar-ti id-di-nu-ni.
- 81. An-nu-tum a-ma-tu-ka i-ia-nu ; la ki-ti i-tab-bu-bu-ka
- 82. amiluti mari sipri-ka. Ka-an-na-ma šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši ṣabi bakra-tam;
- 83. šum-ma la i-ba-aš-ši, ut-tu-ni mi-nu ni-aš-ša-a-li-šu.
- 84. Šum-ma sabi i-ba-aš-ši, at-tu-ka; šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši
- 85. sisi at-tu-ka-ma-i la ti-ši-mi-ši-na
- 86. amiluti mari šipri-ka ša pi-šu-nu za-a-ru ša ta-šap-par,
- 87. an-ni-ka-a; sum-ma pal-ḥu-ni-ik-ku u i-bu-bu za-ra-ti,
- 88. aš-šum a-zi-ia i-na kat-ti-ka. I-nu-ma tak-ba-a
- 89. um-ma-a: it-ta-din narkabâti-ia i-na lib-bi narkabâti
- 90. amiluti ḥa-za-nu-ti, u-ul ta-mu-ur-šu-nu a-šir-tam,
- 91. tu-ti-bi-il-šu-nu a-na pa-ni ma-a-ti ša itti-ka,
- 92. u-ul ta-mu-šu-nu a-šir-tam; lu an-ni-ka, u
- 93. narkabâti, lu an-ni-ka-a, sisi

- 94. (it)-ti-ia; i-ri-šu kap-pa sisi,
- 95. narkabâti i-nu-ma ta-aš-pu-ra a-na mat (?)-ia
- 96. Ka-ti-ri-ka a-na ša-ka-an-ni mahdu a-na-ku.
- 97. Zu-ha-ar-ti at-ta ta-aš-bu-ra.
- 98. Y Kištu-ni-za-az-an-ni.?

#### TRADUCTION.

- (1) A Kallimma-Sin, roi du pays de Karduniyas, (2) mon frère, pour information, en ces termes: Nipmuaria, grand roi, (3) roi du pays de Misri, ton frère. Il y a salut [bon état, prospérité] chez moi; (4) qu'il y ait [de même] salut, chez toi. A ta maison, à tes femmes (5) à tes enfants, à tes nobles, à tes chevaux, (6) à tes chars, à toutes tes terres, salut soit à un haut degré. (7) Il y a salut pour moi; pour mes femmes, pour mes enfants, (8) pour mes nobles, mes chevaux, mes chars, (9) mes nombreux soldats, il y a salut; dans toutes mes terres, il y a salut, à un haut degré.
- (26) Et alors tu m'envoies message en ces termes: "Tu as parlé (27) à mes messagers,—et tes femmes se trouvaient là rassemblées (28) en ta présence,—de cette façon: Voilà votre maîtresse qui se trouve (29) devant vous, et mes envoyés ne la reconnurent point, (30) eLe ma sœur, qui [à ce que tu dis] est chez toi!" A présent (31) tu me mandes ce qui suit: "Mes messagers ne l'ont pas reconnue (32) et qui la reconnaîtra? Et tu dis: Pourquoi (33) n'envoies-tu pas un homme de qualité (?) qui te dira le vrai,

 (45) (Si) nous en présentons une autre
 (46)

 ..... (que) le dieu Amanou [Ammon]
 (47)

 femme grande (?)
 (48)

 ......
 (49)

 sur toutes les femmes
 (51) des rois de Misri

 (52) au pays de Misri

Et cela étant, tu me mandes ce qui suit: (53) "(Je donnerai) mes filles en mariage chez les rois du pays de Karduniyas (?). (54) Aussi bien, si tu avais reçu mes messagers avec bienveillance, et qu'ils eussent [réellement) parlé avec elle [avec ma fille], ils eussent rapporté des présents."

(56) Puisque tels sont tes desseins en ce qui te concerne, si les rois (57) de ton voisinage, ces grands rois, (57, 58) demandent tes filles, (58) qu'ils te fassent apporter ce qui se trouve chez eux. (59) Et que m'a donc apporté ta sœur qui est chez moi, pour que (60) tu reçoives quoi que ce soit [en retour], et que je te le fasse apporter? (61) Chose excellente [pour toi] que de donner tes filles aux chefs de la valetaille (?) (62) de ton voisinage, et en [me] communiquant les promesses (63) que mon père a laissées [à accomplir], de ne pas dire ses conditions, [c'est-à-dire, l'obligation de donner des femmes]. (64) Pratique donc une bonne fraternité entre nous, (65) pour pouvoir m'envoyer de ces paroles: "Voilà que nous sommes frères, (66) moi et toi réciproquement."

Je suis froid envers (67) tes messagers, parce qu'ils ont parlé devant toi en ces termes : (67, 68) "On ne nous a rien donné qu'on puisse recevoir, au pays de Misri." (69) Ils viennent chez moi, et une fois entre autres, (70)..... ils reçurent beaucoup d'argent, d'or, d'huiles [parfums], d'habits de pourpre, toute sorte (70) (de produits) des pays étrangers, et ils tinrent des propos pernicieux, au lieu de

propos bienveillants. (72) Quand ils se furent échappés, les uns s'en allèrent, (73) parmi les messagers, à . . . . . et leur bouche parla hostilité; (74) les autres s'en allérent parler de même chez toi. (75) Et je me dis, moi : que je leur donne quelque chose, (76) que je ne leur donne rien, ils parleront de la même façon; (77) Je les traiterai de manière à ne plus les (craindre) à l'avenir.

- (78) Et lorsque tu me mandes ceci: "Tu as parlé (79) à mes messagers en ces termes: Votre maître n'a pas de soldats [qu'il puisse me fournir], (80) et il ne me donne pas [même] une jeune fille," (81) ta communication est sans tondement, (81, 82) et tes messagers ne t'ont pas dit la vérité. (82) De vrai, si tu as des soldats de valeur (?) [j'en désire (?)]; (83) si tu n'en n'as pas, dismoi ce qu'il y a que nous puissions demander. (84) [Cependant] si tu as des soldats, ils t'appartiennent; si tu as (85) des chevaux, ils t'appartiennent; [et je n'exige rien]. Mais n'écoute point làdessus (86) tes messagers, qui tiennent le langage hostile que tu me communiques; (87) je t'atteste [qu'ils mentent]. S'ils te respectent, ils mettront un terme à leur hostilité (88) par égard pour ce qui passe de chez moi dans ta main. Bien que tu parles (89) ainsi: "Mes chars [que j'ai envoyés pour être vendus en Egypte] ont été confondus avec les chars (90) des gouverneurs savec les chars envoyés par ceux-ci, chars moins riches], tu ne les a pas regardés avec équité; (91) tu les a fait passer [tu les a exposés comme une marchandise vulgaire] aux yeux de la multitude (?) qui est chez toi, (92) sans en parler avec équité;" je te l'atteste, (93) les chars, je te l'atteste, les chevaux sont chez moi; tous veulent les chevaux, (95) et les chars, lorsque tu en envoies dans mon pays.
- (96) Je suis ton allié pour faire beaucoup [en ta faveur]. (97) Toi tu m'enverras la jeune fille. (98) Kistu-nizaz-anni. [Nom d'homme?]

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 3.—Ana maḥri-ia, devant moi, dans ce qui m'entoure.

Ligne 11.—Assutti. Je rends ce mot par alliance matrimoniale. Il pourrait désigner aussi l'ensemble des femmes unies aux princes royaux. On ne voit pas bien si le roi demande la femme pour lui-même ou pour quelque membre de sa famille.

Ligne 15.—Amilu kamirum. Si cette expression ne signifie pas formellement homme de qualité, elle en implique tout au moins l'idée, comme on le voit par la suite.

Ligne 17.—*Umandi*, ou, plus correctement peut-être, *uwandi*, me semble être un présent ou futur kal de la racine דרע ou דרע. Sur l'insertion du *n*, voir Delitzsch, *Gramm.*, § 52.

Ligne 18.—Rika = excepté, comme l'hébreu

Lignes 22–25.—D'après Aménophis, autant qu'on peut le voir dans ces lignes mutilées, la princesse babylonienne qui se trouve dans son harem, a suffisamment prouvé son identité aux messagers de son frère.

Ligne 27.—Iz-za-za-zu, faute de transcription pour iz-za-zu ou iz-za-a-zu?

Ligne 30.—Anumma, à présent, c'est-à-dire, lorsque je t'ai demandé de m'envoyer un messager plus capable de constater l'identité de la princesse.

Ligne 30.—Lumidi, luwidi, voir la note à la ligne 17.

Ibid.—Anni-ka, je t'atteste. Ce sens convient aussi aux lignes 87, 92, 93, où la même expression revient.

Ligne 36.—*Tim*, a le même sens que notre mot *intelligence* dans cette expression: être d'intelligence avec quelqu'un.

Lignes 37–39.—Le rôle qu'on regarde comme possible pour des femmes de Khanigalbî, de Gagaya et d'Ugarit, suppose l'usage de l'assyrien dans ces pays.

Lignes 45–52.—La réponse d'Aménophis III au propos qu'il vient de citer, se trouve dans ces lignes. Il semble promettre au nom du dieu Ammon, qu'il ne montrera pas une autre femme à la place de la sœur de Kallimma-Sin. Il s'étend ensuite sur la haute position que cette dernière occupe dans son palais.

Ligne 53.—Le mot *Karduniias* est très douteux. Il supposerait d'autres princes portant le titre de roi de Karduniyas comme Kallimma-Sin.

Ligne 57.—Šaruti rabuti, grands rois, par ironie.

Ligne 61.—Je lis ( en deux caractères, et la fin de la ligne devient ainsi raši kalbuta, au lieu de raḥulta qui ne me présente aucun sens. Kalbuti dérivé kalbu, chien, répond, s'il existe, à notre mot canaille, mais avec un sens différent. Je remarque, en effet, dans une lettre du recueil de Berlin (60, lignes 18-21) qu'Arad-asirtou, le père d'Azirou, est nommé le serviteur et le chien, c'est-à-dire le plat valet des rois de Mitani et de Kassi, et c'est ce qui me suggère pour kalbuti le sens de valetaille.

Lignes 62, 63.—D'après cela, le père d'Aménophis III aurait laissé non accomplies des promesses faites à Kallimma-Sin. Les lettres 18, 23, du recueil de Berlin, que nous avons traduites dans les *Proceedings*, en juin 1891, supposent qu'Aménophis III lui-même laissa en mourant des arriérés de cette sorte à son fils.—Le mot amati qui est aussi vague que l'hébreu , comme je l'ai dit précédemment, et qui est employé deux fois dans ces lignes, a dû se préciser dans la traduction.

Ligne 68.—Qu'on puisse recevoir, c'est-à-dire, qu'il vaille la peine d'emporter.

Ligne 69.—Ilak ištin, lors d'une venue en Egypte, ou une fois.

Ligne 71.—*Šuditi*, propos, chose pernicieuse, d'après le contexte. Je suppose que kam est un équivalent de kum = à la place de. Voir Delitzsch, Gramm,  $\S 81$ , a.

Ligne 72.—Ana ša ipparšu, littéralement, lorsqu'ils se furent envolés, c'est-à-dire, lorsqu'ils se furent échappés, après avoir attendu longtemps et impatiemment, comme cela arrivait aux ambassadeurs d'après d'autres lettres, leur congé du roi d'Egypte. Ana ša =

Ligne 80.—Banat zuharti, la jeune fille. Zuharti = suharti, n'est pas un nom propre, c'est une épithète signifiant petite, jeune. A la ligne 97, le mot zuharti est employé substantivement, dans le sens de jeune fille. Le nom propre de la personne dont il s'agit, était Irtabi, comme on le voit par la première lettre du recueil de Berlin (lignes 7, 8), que nous avons traduite dans les Proceedings, t. XIII, pp. 127, 130.

Ligne 82.—Je lis bak-ra-tam, d'après British Museum, 9, 1. 8. Dans le premier énoncé conditionnel, à la fin de cette ligne, la proposition exprimant la conséquence, facile à suppléer pour Kallima-Sin, est sous-entendue, comme il arrive aussi en hébreu dans le cas de deux énoncés conditionnels qui se suivent. Voir Ewald Ausfürh. Lehrbuch der heb. Sprache, 6º éd., § 355, c.

Ligne 87.—*Ibubu* semble signifier proprement étouffer. Comparer l'hébreu עוב.

Ligne 88.—Azi = asi, de la racine  $\aleph \mathfrak{D}$ ,  $\Rightarrow$  latin proventus.

Ligne 98.—Nous nous sommes expliqué plus haut sur ce nom propre.

## NOTES DE PHILOLOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

(Suite.)\*

67. L'étymologie du groupe ; 68. mot nouveau;
69. Passage du Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique; 70. Le mot :
71. Y a-t-il un pronom absolu ; 2, et varr. ? 72. Passage d'un texte copte; 73. Série de mots, écrits à l'aide de = lise;
74. Le prétendu groupe ; 76. Le groupe ; 76. Le groupe ; 76. Le groupe ; 76. Le groupe ; 76.

67. BRUGSCH, il y a très longtemps,† a identifié les deux groupes et conserve et conserve

Je serais disposé à introduire une légère modification dans cette lecture du savant anglais, en proposant de la remplacer par celle-ci celui qui accompagne le porc," ou peut-être plutôt "celui qui conduit le porc."

<sup>\*</sup> Voir Proceedings, Vol. XIV, p. 142.

<sup>†</sup> Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler, III, XVII, No. 159.

Dans cet exemple l'hiéroglyphe en question a la forme suivante

<sup>‡</sup> Zeitschrift, 1868, page 7.

Pour l'exactitude de ce rapprochement je citerai d'un côté la locution bien connue  $\left\{ \bigcap_{i=1}^n \bigcap_{j=1}^n \bigcap_{i=1}^n \bigcap_{j=1}^n \bigcap_{j=1}^n$ 

68. Les textes nous font connaître un groupe qui jusqu'ici n'a pas trouvé de place au Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique. Le mot en question n'étant point rare, je suis dans la mesure d'en fournir beaucoup d'exemples. En voici un petit nombre :

"Mehenit, Renenut, maîtresse des meschā, celle qui a ouvert les portes de l'horizon oriental du ciel." †

Tu es le dieu Lunus qui rajeunit constamment, celui qui renouvelle les meschā, sans cesse.‡

Ptolémée XIII est désigné comme "" " resplendissant par meschā sur le trône de son père." Hathor est "plus resplendissante par meschā que tout le cycle de dieux, celle qui se lève à la première heure du matin, chaque jour."

Isis est dite and a service de la compara de

<sup>\*</sup> DÜMICHEN, Tempel-Inschriften, I, LXIV, et ibid., I, LIV.

<sup>†</sup> DE Rougé, Inscriptions d'Edfou, CXX.

<sup>‡</sup> MARIETTE, Dendérah, II, 44.

<sup>§</sup> De Rougé, Inscriptions d'Edfou, IV.

<sup>||</sup> MARIETTE, Dendérah, I, 43a.

<sup>¶</sup> MARIETTE, ibid., I, 50a.

<sup>\*\*</sup> MARIETTE, *ibid.*, II, 18.

la maison de fête (?), celui qui est stable par meschā, à l'instar du seigneur(?) du ciel."\*

Hathor est de sanctuaire, dont les meschā sont secrets au cycle de dieux." †

Un roi dit à Osiris The seigneur de vie." † "tu renouvelles

Ptolémée IX est dit être \( \)

Etymologiquement, le groupe me paraît être un composé de la même espèce que, par exemple, le mot copte orescoi orescoi tectum, ou les groupes hiéroglyphiques , etc.

69. Le Dictionnaire de Brugsch donne (V, page 170) l'exemple suivant, emprunté à la porte de Chonsou de Karnak :

- \* BRUGSCH, Thesaurus, VI, 1376.
- † MARIETTE, Dendérah, II, 65b.
- # BRUGSCH and DÜMICHEN, Recueil, V, 36.
- § Voir passim. || MARIETTE, Dendérah, III, 20t.

ce qu'a traduit l'éminent savant de la sorte "Schöpfer aller Wesen aus dem Ei, ohne dessen Einflüsse nichts besteht, welcher die Zeit beschreibt und die Jahre berechnet, der Rechner der Ernte in seinem Gefolge, deren Gaben er allerwärts spendet, das Leben wird gegeben dem, welchen er will, welcher der Schöpfer des verständigen Herzens des Freundes seines illustren Herrn ist."

La partie soulignée de cette traduction, je serais disposé à la modifier et la remplacer par celle-ci: "Schou et Renenit sont sous ses ordres, qui fournit des provisions, qui distribue (?) les places, seigneur de vie, qui donne à qui il veut."

C'est le dieu Thoth qui fait le sujet des développements de notre texte, nous avons donc tout droit de voir raconter que "Schou et Renenit sont sous ces ordres;" de même qu'un autre texte,\* plus ancien et également dédié à Thoth, contient la remarque : "Schai et Renenit sont auprès de toi." De cette comparaison il résulte avec évidence que les deux groupes et impliment de sont identiques de sens, quelle qu'en soit d'ailleurs la prononciation. En effet, le premier peut fort bien avoir une autre lecture que celle de Schou que nous venons d'indiquer.

Bauurkunde, VI, où le passage, cité en haut, a la forme suivante:

<sup>\*</sup> Papyrus Anastasi, V, 9, 7.

<sup>†</sup> Thesaurus, IV, page 773. Le même texte a été publié de nouveau par le même savant, Thesaurus, VI, page 1378. Un double s'en voit dans DÜMICHEN,

La meilleure preuve que je connaisse en faveur de l'équation  $\mathbb{Q} = schou$ , c'est le passage suivant, emprunté aux Tempel-Inschriften de M. DÜMICHEN:  $\mathbb{Z}$   $\mathbb{$ 

Il faut se rappeler que, parmi les différentes valeurs du signe polyphone S, il y en a qui, dans ce cas particulier, méritent un examen, par suite de la lumière qu'elles peuvent répandre sur la matière en discussion. Premièrement, la lecture aut. Elle paraîtrait, au premier abord, appuyée par le nom de dieu aut. Elle paraîtrait, au premier abord, appuyée par le nom de dieu aut. Elle paraîtrait, au premier abord, appuyée par le nom de dieu aut. Elle paraîtrait, au premier abord, appuyée par le nom de dieu aut. Elle paraîtrait, au premier abord, appuyée par le nom de dieu aut. Elle paraîtrait peut l'autre, dans ces textes. Toutefois, il y a encore assez de différence entre les combinaisons de signes et autre lecture les dernière ne donnant jamais de final dans le nom de dieu autre lecture les les pour que ce rapprochement doive être écarté. Un autre lecture les les jours de l'homme, d'où l'on pourrait bien tirer la conclusion que avant serait un surnom du dieu Schai, opinion qui paraîtrait peut-être bien fondée. Mais l'accouplement de autre les que nous avons constaté en haut, me semble une forte raison contre l'emploi de la lecture les pour ce cas.

Néanmoins la lecture nouvelle, proposée pour le groupe of proposée pour le groupe of proposée un peu incertaine, comme la vocalisation en diffère notablement

<sup>\*</sup> LEPSIUS, Denkmäler, IV, 62 a.

<sup>+</sup> BRUGSCH, Thesaurus, IV, page 627.

<sup>‡</sup> l.l. I, IIL, 8.

<sup>§</sup> PIEHL, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques. Seconde Série, CXXVI, 1.

<sup>||</sup> DE Rougé, Edfou, 98, 3.

T STERN, dans la Zeitschrift, 1873, page 62.

du celle qui caractérise le nom de divinité M. D'autres savants seront sans doute à même de corroborer ou de refuter mon acception sur ce point.

70. Les textes des pyramides de Saqqârah contiennent un groupe of train de derrière," par exemple dans le passage suivant :

qui a été traduit de la sorte : "Semblable à un chacal pour la tête, à un lion sauvage pour le train de derrière."

On peut déjà a priori hésiter quant à l'exactitude de cette interprétation, car le mot P—qui ne signifie jamais "la tête," mais "le visage, la figure"—n'est pas le corrélatif de mots, désignant la queue ou le derrière, mais plutôt de groupes ayant le sens de "partie de la tête" ou "la tête" elle-même. Pour admettre la signification "train de derrière" pour le mot chebset, le groupe P du début aurait dû être remplacé par D, ou quelque chose d'analogue. Cf. p. ex.

"ton avant-train en forme de chacal, ton arrière-train en forme d'épervier."

Je ne crois pas me tromper, en traduisant le passage, soumis à la discussion, de la manière que voici : "Ta figure est celle du chacal, ta barbe (crinière) celle d'un lion sauvage." Je rapproche alors le groupe de celui, déjà connu, de [Brugsch, Wörterbuch, VI, 891]. La différence d'écriture qu'il y a entre les deux groupes n'est pas de nature à embarasser ceux auxquels le développement de l'écriture hiéroglyphique est familier.

Pour écarter tout semblant même d'un doute qu'on pût concevoir à cet égard, j'attire l'attention du lecteur sur cet exemple-ci :

<sup>\*</sup> Pyramide de Teta, 165; cf. Merenra, 176; Pepi II, 688.

<sup>+</sup> Pyramide de Merenra, 183.

<sup>‡</sup> LEEMANS, Moumens de Leide, III, K. XVII.

71. La théorie nouvelle, énoncée par Erman, concernant les pronoms personnels en égyptien,\* mérite un examen sérieux et approfondi qu'il n'est pas le moment de fournir ici, quand même j'aurais term né les préparatifs d'un travail pareil. Toutefois, je crois déjà pouvoir affirmer que plusieurs des faits, constatés dans le dit article, se sont montrés absolument inattaquables. Je pense alors tout particulièrement aux deux formes † == , == de la seconde personne du féminin singulier, dont originairement j'avais cru pouvoir revoquer en doute l'existence, mais qui maintenant, grâce aux textes de Pepi II, sont hors d'atteinte. Voici une bonne preuve en faveur de la forme = , empruntée à ce dernier document : A = , t exemple qui se compare très à propos avec celui-ci : 3 De la comparaison de ces deux expressions il résulte avec évidence qui, si est un mot, == 1'est nécessairement aussi.

L'analogie que nous offre  $\frac{1}{2}$  \( \superscript{\superscript{Sujet prothétique}}\) par rapport à  $\frac{1}{2}$  \( \superscript{Sujet paragogique}\), donne un fort appui à l'existence d'une forme \( \superscript{\superscript{Sujet prothétique}}\) par rapport à celle de \( \superscript{\superscript{Sujet prothétique}}\) par rapport à celle de \( \superscript{\superscript{Sujet paragogique}}\).

Sur un point capital de l'ouvrage susmentionné je crois devoir faire de l'opposition, c'est concernant le pronom absolu de la première personne.

Je suis alors bien entendu disposé à reconnaître la possibilité—mais possibilité n'est pas certitude—de l'existence d'un pronom absolu \( \bar{p} \) \( \bar{q} \) "moi," quant aux textes des pyramides, mais les autres

<sup>\*</sup> Zeitschrift, XXX, pages 15-24.

<sup>†</sup> L'existence de ces deux formes avait déjà été établie dans la Zeitschrift, XXIX, pages 40 et 42. Au moment, où j'ai reçu ce numéro du journal de Berlin, j'étais en train de faire un mémoire sur le pronom masculin cet son histoire. Plusieurs des nouvelles de l'article d'Erman avaient été découvertes par moi-même, notamment le sens des par le la "litanie du soleil." J'ai donc trouvé inutile à imprimer le susdit article. Toutefois, il devait aussi renfermer certaines autres choses inconnues, celles-là relatives à l'époque ptolémaïque. Je reviendrai ailleurs à ces questions.

<sup>‡</sup> Pyramide de Pepi II, 777.

<sup>§</sup> Pyramide de Pepi II, 782.

exemples, cités d'après d'autres monuments, ne me semblent aucunement de nature à faire admettre la prétendue forme pronominale.

Pour prouver mon dire il est indispensable de procéder à l'examen de la série complète des exemples, qu'a cités M. Erman en faveur d'un pronom absolu & &, & uà de la première personne du singulier.

(a). | Ship to Je fus juge." \* Cf. "Tu es dans l'horizon, et lui, le sceptre à la main, fait naviguer ta barque, ô Ra."† Si le second ⇒ du groupe ∫ ⇒ qui introduit le dernier passage, est à expliquer comme un pronom suffixe, il faut aussi expliquer comme tel le signe 冷 du groupe 🏻 🚐 🦃, emprunté à l'inscription d'Una. Contrairement à l'avis de notre collègue de Berlin, on doit donc admettre que se de cet exemple réellement a de la "direction verbale." D'ailleurs, en consultant les textes, on trouve, à toutes les époques, que le pronom [], [], [] , [], , [], etc., étant accompagné d'un pronom personnel absolu (à l'exception de 🖟 🦒), c'est le dernier qui précède, p. ex. 💍 📗 💮 "Je "Tu es Ra, sorti de Nout;" || etc.

<sup>\*</sup> Inscription d' Una, 1. 8.

<sup>+</sup> Pyramide d' Unas, 1. 478 = Pepi II, 1. 748.

<sup>‡</sup> PIEHL, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, CXXIX, 1. 7.

<sup>§</sup> SHARPE, Egyptian Inscriptions, I, 99.

<sup>||</sup> Pyramide de Merenra, l. 452 M. Erman semble regarder le mm de a été traduit par lui, "weil du ja der Geist bist, der den Nut gebar," avec la au lieu de 😂 🖒 a simple, est dû à la présence de 🗐 . Cf. Unas, 365 : Tu es l'étoile du soir," par rapport à Pepi I, l. 162: Tu es la grande étoile." BRUGSCH (Die Aegyptologie, page 322) semble embrasser les mêmes vues que nous, quant à mun de

"Il n'y a pas d'eau là, je ne m'y trouve pas" (Pap. Ebers, 69, 6); "Todtenbuch, éd. NAVILLE, I, 5); "Je suis ton compagnon, ô Osiris!" (Todtenbuch, éd. NAVILLE, I, 5); "Je suis Ra" (Pap. Ebers, 1, 7).\* Dans le premier de ces trois exemples, M. Erman transcrit la fin, comme s'il fallait lire àn uà àm, au lieu de: àn nuà àm, comme nous lirions. Quant aux deux autres, le me nest consideré par lui comme conjonction "car, parce que." Mais il y a assurément un pronom quelques exemples, où le mot nuà commence une phrase indépendante:

Je suis ton compagnon, ô seigneur de joie."

"Je suis ton serviteur, ô Chensou-Thoth, je suis le principal parmi les serviteurs d'Horus";

"Je suis le mesureur du temps, qui dirige le fil à plomb, § je donne de la solidité aux angles de ton sanctuaire."

qui approvisionne le temple de la déesse Herhotepit."

- \* La transcription correcte de ce passage a été fournie pour la première fois par Chabas (*Notice sur le Papyrus Ebers*, page 2). Après lui, M. MASPERO (*Zeitschrift*, XVI, page 86) a proposé la même transcription, toutefois sans citer son célèbre devancier.
  - † PIEHL, dans la Zeitschrift, 1885, page 85.
- ‡ Brugsch, dans la Zeitschrift, 1870, page 154; M. DÜMICHEN (ibid., 1872, page 38) a partiellement corrigé la traduction qu'avait fournie Brugsch pour ce passage.
- § Que le signe représente un fil à plomb, c'est ce que m'a fait voir mon honorable confrère et ami, M. CH. WILBOUR, lors de notre séjour commun à Edfou en 1888.
- || MARIETTE, Dendérah, III, 14a. Le pendant de ce texte offre ceci:

United the suis la fille du dieu resplendissant," expression qui a pour pendant celle-ci:

Ö J O J "Je suis la fille du Soleil."

Ces exemples pourraient se multiplier facilement, mais je crois qu'ils suffisent à démontrer l'existence du pronom absolu et varr. et par conséquent la non-existence du pronom absolu p

(c). (Comme je connais" (Todtenb., éd. Naville 72, 5); (Comme je connais" (Todtenb., éd. Naville 72, 5); (Comme je connais" (Codtenb., éd. Naville 72, 5); (Codt

Cela étant, on serait autorisé à prétendre, sur la foi de l'exemple que voici:

"car tu es venu en paix, doué d'intelligence," qu'il y aurait également un pronom absolu, celui-là relatif à la seconde personne du masculin singulier. Toutefois, je préfère une autre acception. Pour moi

<sup>\*</sup> MARIETTE, Dendérah, IV, 25a.

<sup>†</sup> Papyrus Anastasi, IV, 12, 5.

<sup>‡</sup> PIEHL, dans la Zeitschrift, 1881, page 18. Ce texte, qui date de la XIIe dynastie, a été republié en 1883 par M. MASPERO (Recueil de Vieweg, III, page 116) d'une manière qui est très inférieure à celle de la Zeitschrift de 1881. La traduction de M. MASPERO, bien que postérieure de date, est aussi notablement inférieure à la mienne, comme les collègues pourront certainement constater, s'ils veulent bien prendre à tâche de comparer les deux éditions.

et de même ou à la peine d'examiner le chapitre 89 du Livre des Morts, nous verrons que les différentes rédactions en présentent des lectures qui sont fort instructives pour la question qui nous occupe. Là où selon l'édition de Lepsius il se lit:

une caisse de momie, conservée au Musée du Caire et dont nous avons, il y a 8 ans,\* publié les textes, offre ceci:

Les deux expressions parallèles se rencontrant plusieurs fois, on ne peut en douter de l'exactitude.

Maintenant

est à 

; et à peu près ce que 
; et à peu près ce que 
; et à peu près ce que 
; serait à 
recourir à la supposition : "vor su war also das t von ntt verschliffen."

(d.) 

(d.) 

Graphe de Berlin, 1, 263.) M. Erman paraît hésiter sur l'existence dans cet exemple d'un pronom absolu 
; et en réalité cette hésitation est fort justifiée. Autrement, il faudrait établir un pronom absolu de la seconde personne du masculin, d'après le passage que voici : 

"Tu es roi sur le trône du Soleil." †

Ayant passé en revue toutes les citations, alleguées par M. Erman en faveur d'un pronom absolu \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\partial}\partial, \$\frac{\partial}{\partial}\partial, \$\partial}\partial, \$\partial}\partial}\partial, \$\partial}\partial, \$\partial}\partial}\partial, \$\part

72. Les textes bibliques, rédigés en langue copte, nous sont souvent conservés en un grand nombre de copies, ce qui permet de

<sup>\*</sup> PIEHL, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, LXVII, l. 3 et suiv.

<sup>†</sup> BRUGSCH, Hierogl. Grammatik, page 49.

constater—ce qui d'ailleurs n'a rien d'extraordinaire—combien changent quelquefois les dialectes des scribes entre eux. entendu, les diversités qui séparent ces derniers, ne sont pas nécessairement dues à des différences de prononciation : tout le monde, s'occupant du copte, a pu mainte fois relever des fautes d'orthographe et d'autres espèces chez les scribes copiant des textes, conçus dans la dite langue. Ce sont surtout les Évangiles qui ont été conservés en des copies nombreuses et qui nous ont livré matière à ces réflextions. J'ai sous les yeux un petit fragment, renfermant en dialecte thébain les versets 14-31 du chap. xxv de l'Évangile selon St. Matthieu.\* L'écrivain a une prédilection pour la lettre & aux dépens de celle de q, et il emploie la première non seulement dans l'équivalent copte  $\dagger$  de l'ancien  $\hbar$  (Liw $\pi$  "faire le compte," CERABITY "ils vont l'enlever"), mais à la place de l'ancien suffixe possesif = , t comme dans &BBWK "il s'en alla"; aqt naß "il lui donna"; πρεερελ ετπεποτβ "ô brave domestique." L'ancien s'ecrit ici orway. Le verbe xw " ensemencer," muni de suffixe, s'écrit deux fois xw-, ce qui paraît incorrect. De même, le mot EKO 12,07 "fidèle," qui revient deux fois, me semble une faute pour EKO N NOOT. Au lieu de NEXLY "il dit," notre texte porte ΠΕΧ&& ٩.

Le passage, le plus difficile, de notre fragment a la teneur suivante :---

RCOOTN, "Ô domestique misérable et . . . . Tu sais." Que signifie le mot npequataccuxe? A mon avis, ce n'est pas une faute de scribe, mais une erreur, commise par le copiste moderne. Si nous réfléchissons que le c copte ressemble beaucoup au c copte, et que la lettre gu peut devenir w par suite d'usure, on pourrait introduire un petit changement : npequata egue, ce qui nous donnerait pour le passage entier :

<sup>\*</sup> Voir Maspero dans le Recueil de Vieweg, VII, pages 47, 48. Le type est dit appartenir au plus tôt au X°, au plus tard au XIII° siècle.

<sup>†</sup> Fait déjà noté par les dictionnaires coptes.

<sup>‡</sup> Cf. STERN, Grammatik, § 30. Suivant le système de ce savant, notre petit texte contiendrait des traces d'une influence de la "mittelägyptischer dialect."

<sup>§</sup> STERN, l.l. , § 31.

πρωρελ εποπηρος ετω πρεσαπετ εωχε κοονπ, ce qui correspond fort bien à πιδωκ ετρωοτ ονορ ή σεπηε ισχε κέει de la rédaction memphitique du même texte.

Cette petite correction\* est assez importante pour rendre légitime la publication de la petite note qu'on vient de lire.

73. Dans une note antérieure, † j'ai montré que le signe \_\_\_\_, quand il entre dans le groupe \_\_\_\_ et varr., a la valeur \_\_\_ | . Après avoir énoncé cette remarque, j'ai pu constater une série de cas, où le signe \_\_\_\_, formant élément d'autres mots, est susceptible de la même lecture. ‡

Voici les groupes nouveaux, où entre le signe \_\_\_\_\_, ayant la valeur 🖾 🛘 & es:—

- 1. (MARIETTE, Dendérah, I, 77 bis) (BRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, II, 715: ems), A R [BRUGSCH, l.l. IV, 1519], "oindre" = copte OGC linire.
- 2. [ CBRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, VI, 523: mama), [ X (BRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, VI, 645: mesmes), [ Worterbuch, VI, 645: mesmes), [ Worterbuch, VI, 645], [ Worte
- 3. MARIETTE, Dendérah, I, 53, 3 A [PIEHL, Insc., Nouv. Sér., CIX, 7], MARIETTE, Dendérah, III, 21v], [PIEHL, l.l., LXXXVIII] = copte OXI currere.
- \* Le Dictionnaire (PEYRON, 388) ne connaît que la forme XN&X. Il faut donc par elle remplacer celle de XN&X.
- † Proceedings, XII, page 114 et suiv. Simultanément avec moi, M. Erman paraît être arrivé au même résultat (Die Sprache des Papyrus Westear, 1889, page 77).
  - ‡ PIEHL, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, Nouvelle Série, II, page 39.

4. Souv. Série, XXII, 7], "courir."\*

6. Pap. Ebers, Brugsch, Wörterbuch, VI, 645: mesu] "morbus mulieris," = copte & copte of copte (qualit. of hc).

8. — ° (Pap. Ebers), — ° [ibid. Voir Ebers, Die Masse, etc., page 72].

Dans cette série de mots, j'ai dû omettre d'énumérer plusieurs vocables, contenant le signe adans la valeur plus parceque je n'ai pas encore réussi à les expliquer, d'une manière suffisamment nette. J'espère pouvoir plus tard reprendre l'étude de ces mots.

Je ne veux pas quitter cette matière sans mentionner le verbe

<sup>\*</sup> A est à A, ce que, p. ex. A "manger" (Pyramide d'Unas, passim) est à A (BRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, IV, 1476).

<sup>‡</sup> MARIETTE, Dendérah, II, 31b.

expression qui peut se comparer à celle-ci: \( \) \\( \) \(

d'où il semble résulter que  $\int_{\Lambda}^{\infty} = kest$ . Mais le signe  $\int_{\Lambda}^{\infty}$  aux temps des Ptolémées et des empereurs romains, remplace tant celui de  $\int_{\Lambda}^{\infty}$ , que celui de  $\int_{\Lambda}^{\infty}$ ; et le verbe  $\int_{\Lambda}^{\infty}^{\infty}$  où entre ce dernier signe s'emploie d'une manière analogue à celle de  $\int_{\Lambda}^{\infty}$  et  $\int_{\Lambda}^{\infty}$  des preuves cités — comme p. ex. dans l'expression suivante:  $\int_{\Lambda}^{\infty}$   $\int_{\Lambda}^{\infty}$   $\int_{\Lambda}^{\infty}$  "il hâte sa marche, il saisit son arme"  $\|$ — on peut donc toujours hésiter sur l'opportunité de l'équation  $\int_{\Lambda}^{\infty} = kes$ .

Il nous reste néanmoins encore une raison à citer en faveur de cette équation : j'entends le fait, qui nous est révélé par les textes de

<sup>\*</sup> MARIETTE, Dendérah, III, 19n.

<sup>‡</sup> DÜMICHEN, Tempel-Inschriften, I, xxxvii, 13.

<sup>||</sup> DÜMICHEN, Tempel-Inschriften, I, xxxvi, 21.

basses époques, que le groupe \_\_\_kes "côté" quelquefois est remplacé par la variante \( \beta \), p. ex. dans \( \beta \) \( \

74. Le Dictionnaire [Brugsch, Wörterbuch, V, page 426] renferme un groupe qui a été transcrit bun et traduit "mit lauter Stimme vernehmen lassen." Voici les deux exemples, où le dit mot a été relevé:

Dans le second passage de texte, qui a été extrait des textes, relatifs au Mythe d'Horus, † le groupe en question s'écrit plutôt d'Accord tant avec la copie Naville qu'avec la mienne. Cette forme vous amenerait, à elle seule, tout aussi bien à la transcription āun. Et cette dernière, selon moi, est la seule admissible. C'est que nous sommes en mesure d'alléguer une variante du groupe en question. Le passage où se voit cette variante, a la teneur suivante:

Remplaçons donc le groupe incorrect , bun, par le correct , bun, par le correct , āun, tout en gardant le sens qui a été proposé pour le premier. Le mot sans doute est onomatopée, imitant l'aboiement du chien ou d'un animal congénère.

<sup>\*</sup> PIEHL, Nouvelle Série, Pl. XX, 1. 8.

<sup>+</sup> La Stèle de Naples. Cf. BRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, II, page 573.

<sup>‡</sup> NAVILLE, Mythe d'Horus, Pl. X.

<sup>§</sup> NAVILLE, ibid., Pl. VII.

75. Le Dictionnaire [Brugsch, Wörterbuch, IV, 1338] donne un mot 🦰 , "Bank, Schemel," qui a été relevé dans un texte, provenant de Scheikh-abd-el-Gourna. Voici la teneur du passage où le dit groupe a été trouvé :

Je n'hésite pas à rapprocher cette phrase de celle-ci, empruntée à un monument de Florence :

laves tes pieds sur une plaque d'argent, sur un pavé de turquoise."

Ce rapprochement montre que le groupe , qui n'a été trouvé ailleurs, est fautif pour et qu'il doit par conséquent disparaître du dictionnaire hiéroglyphique.

76. Le groupe A , àteru, par Brugsch (Wörterbuch, V, 165), qui à ce sujet cite Chabas, a été traduit "ausgiessen, sich ergiessen," traduction qui s'est uniquement appliquée au passage suivant: " in Lichtschein der sich an der Spitze der Krieger ergiesst.'

Je serais disposé à proposer pour le passage cité la traduction que voici: "celui qui fait resplendir le fleuve (le Nil), à la tête des soldats."

A mon avis, n'est qu'une variante d'écriture du groupe fréquent ,† par lequel les textes désignent le Nil.

<sup>\*</sup> PIEHL, Petites Études Égyptologiques, page 60, note.

<sup>†</sup> BRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, I, 164.

## THE IDEOGRAM = YYYAYYYEY.

By The Rev. C. J. Ball.

Unlikely as it might seem, this extremely common character may be shown to afford an excellent illustration of the pictorial origin of the cuneiform syllabary. The linear form is a figure which hardly suggests the idea of bearing and carrying, which is the meaning of the symbol, even when we have restored it to the upright position which, in fact, it occupies in the inscriptions of Gudea and in the seal-writing (Gudea, D. 5, 3, etc.).

The correct analysis of me by the Chinese yii, "to carry," which, in the oldest accessible form, consists of two hands holding up a vessel. The lower part of the Accadian character is sag, "the head." The upper part is a vessel of some kind, which appears also in the symbol symbol ga; while is the raised arm, bent round to hold the vessel on the head in the ordinary Oriental fashion (see Birch, Ancient Pottery, p. 195). As the entire ideogram was read ga, we may, if we please, regard symbols as phonetic: cp. may (from ana?) in which an, am, is phonetic.\*

Having now solved our puzzle, we may note the remarkable similarity of the Accadian  $\forall yy \in yy \in Y$ , ga, "to bear," "lift," etc., to the Egyptian ga and ga, fa (Brugsch,  $W\ddot{o}rtb$ ., p. 534).

Some two or three years ago I reached the conclusion that the Egyptian language was akin to and younger than Accadian. In the *Proceedings*, June, 1890, I pointed out the identity of the Merodach symbol > [7], the linear , with the Egyptian , Osiris, and observed in a footnote that the evidence of certain terms common to the two tongues appeared to indicate "a very early connexion

<sup>\*</sup> With >- | ana, ama, "heaven," | "rain," cp. Japanese ama, "heaven," "rain,"

between the primitive languages of Babylonia and Egypt; although the latter has developed on quite independent lines, and been influenced by its own environment." This inference was not based on isolated facts of possibly accidental coincidence. Our learned President, Mr. Renouf, remembers that I asked his judgment upon part of the evidence I had collected prior to June, 1890. One of the points which appear important is that Egypt achieved a real alphabet, the symbols of which are non-significant, whereas every symbol of the Accadian script is a significant word. This fact suggests the priority of the hieroglyphic system of Babylonia.

As Professor Hommel, in a paper read in the Assyrian section of the recent Oriental Congress, quite unexpectedly advocated a similar thesis, I may be permitted to give here a few more illustrations of the sort of evidence which led me to my conclusions, and which I have always hoped to lay before the Society.\*

Among the common words to which I called Mr. Renouf's attention above two years ago were Will kekiu, "darkness," the Accadian ( kukki, and gagig, with the same meaning; also M B D mes-t'er, and A mus-tug, "ear." The correspondence of  $t'=t,\ d$ , observable in the latter instance, is seen again in t'et, "say," "speak," = Acc. duttu, in t'er, "all," the Acc. diri, in t'a, "strength" = Acc. da, in  $\uparrow$  t'am = dan, "might," in  $\circlearrowleft$   $\odot$  hat', "light" = fad, fad, "to shine," and other terms. It is natural, again, to suspect a relation between hem-t, "wife," and gin, geme, "handmaid," or gun, ugun, "lady"; between  $\begin{subarray}{c} \begin{cases} \begin{cases} \begin{subarray}{c} \$ "infant," and gin, "little," "young." But the relation of t, d to t (English ch), and of g to  $\xi$ , h, is the relation of original to derived sounds. So, too,  $\underline{\phantom{a}}$  agrees with the younger Accadian  $\underline{\underline{\phantom{a}}}$  a, "hand" (from gad), and ar, "to come," "bring," with ir (from gir, gar). The very frequent ar, "to do," is plainly posterior to gar, "to do," and the same is true of un, "to be," compared with men, wen. Many of the alphabetic symbols admit

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<sup>\*</sup> I was unfortunately not present when Dr. Hommel read his paper; but at a subsequent meeting the learned Assyriologist frankly informed the Section that I had anticipated him in regard to several of the ideograms u on which his theory was grounded.

of reduction to Accadian forms; e.g.,  $\otimes$ ,  $\chi$ , agrees with  $\diamondsuit$ ,  $\diamondsuit$   $\varnothing$ , originally a circle, and  $\bowtie$ ,  $\varnothing$ , with the linear form of  $\bowtie$   $\bowtie$  mu- $\~$ , revu- $\~$ , or vu- $\~$ , "serpent" (see Amiaud et Méchineau, Tabl. Comp., 198 bis, 154).

Of the pronouns the demonstratives pe, pa, nenu, enen, resemble the Accadian ba, bi, ne, ene, nene, "this," "that," "those."

The Accadian *nun* and *din*, *dim*, *ten*, are only dialectically different (so (in *num*, *nim*, *tum*); and a similar relation holds between *gir* and *dir*, *gar* and *dar*.

It would seem, therefore, that *nun-tar* is a dialectical equivalent of *din-gir*.

The Accadian symbol for "god" is the star,  $\divideontimes$ , and  $\bigstar$  is also used in that sense in Egyptian. The axe-symbol,  $\P$ , which is the usual one, may remind us that Bel is armed with an axe in Babylonian representations (cp. Baruch, vi, 15), doubtless as a symbol of power. Apart from the question of the primitive sense of the terms, grounds of formal resemblance and recognized phonetic variation appear to justify the comparison of din-gir with nun-tar. The same may be said for the comparison of 4m enni, imi = an, am, ang, "wind," "breath," with the Egyptian  $\frac{1}{7}$  anch, "life," "living." The symbols agree, for  $\frac{1}{7}$  may be a simplification of  $\frac{1}{7}$ , the linear form of the Accadian  $\frac{1}{7}$ . The primary sound will have been  $\frac{1}{7}$  and (=the old Chinese bam, gam, modern fung, hong, "wind").

I conclude with the expression of my opinion that Egyptian presents many phenomena which recall the salient features of the so called *eme sal* dialect of the Accadian (e.g., fa, "to bear" = wa, ma = ga).

#### A BILINGUAL HYMN.

4 R. 46, 5-19.

(Cp. SAYCE,\* Hibbert Lectures, pp. 79, 80.)

By REV. C. J. BALL.

5. u-mu nu a-pa-ag (?) bi sig-gid (?) e-ne

Lord (whom) not (in) his fury withstand they

belu ša ina uzzišu mahir la išū Lord who in his fury withstander hath not

u-mu bara shigga u-mu kur-kurra

Lord, sovereign pure, lord of the world

belu šarru damqa bel matāti Lord, sovereign pure, lord of the world

ngan-ngan id-gunna kia anu zu

That stayeth the strife of earth and heaven

10. mutir šulme ša ilāni rabūti

Restorer of the peace of the great gods

ena-ni u-mu a-na u-mu an-tugga (Who with) his eye, the lofty lord, lords casteth down

belu ša ina nikilmišu ušamqit dannūtu Lord who with his look felleth the mighties

dimmer bara mulu mulu dimmer bara

The god of the sovereigns of men, the god (that) sovereignty

mulu tukua

man maketh possess

bel šarrāni ša amelūtu muza'iz belētu Lord of the sovereigns of men, that apportioneth lordship,

<sup>\*</sup> Professor SAYCE could see "no connexion between the Accadian and the Semitic verses" of this piece; and held it to be "more than probable that the meaning was but little understood by the Semitic priests." In another place he calls these verses "maccaronic." So far, however, as I am able to judge, the Semitic lines appear to be a correct paraphrase, in the few cases where they are not a literal translation, of the Accadian.

15. u-mu ku mu shu gish-galla sham-mir kin-nir Lord thy seat (is) Babylon, (thy) garland Borsippa belu šubtaku Babili Barsib aguku Lord thy seat (is) Babylon, Borsippa (is) thy crown ana ana mu ana ana shag bi pesh-e The heavens wide, the heavens, they all (are thine) heart (or fulness). rapšūtu gimir kabittiku

The heavens wide all (are) thy liver.

#### NOTES.

5. Is \( \infty \) to be read umu, from umun? or is it rather munmu = mummu, "lord," "lady" (mummu Tiamat)? or, as ( is shu, is it shumu (cp. san-shum, "man"; LEHMANN, Šam., p. 163, note), a by form of nin, nun?

There is no reason to distrust the Assyrian rendering of ₩ ¥ ≾(E&E), viz., uzzu, "strength," "violence," "fierceness," "wrath." Cp. the Chinese pok, pau, "heat," "fierce," "angry." Or, transcribing i-sig-aka (?), cp. \ sig, zarābu ša libbi; and ZIMMERN, B.P.S., 55.

- In \ sig = mahasu, narātu, "to strike," "thrust," "resist," "thwart," "hinder," or the like; the second 🐎 😝 is maḥāru, "to confront," "withstand," 2 R. 22, 50 b. Sig-gid-i-ene is contracted to sig-gid-ene.
- 7. Ep bara, is strictly the throne or royal seat; then, by a natural transfer, the occupant of the throne, the sovereign; and again, the throne-room of an earthly king, or the inner shrine of a heavenly one (a god): cp. 4 R. 9, 32 and 34 a; 5 R. 62, 47 a. The old Chinese bak, now pao, denotes any symbol of royal dignity, such as a sceptre or a throne (cp. Shi-king, III. iii. V. 5). Pao-tso means both "throne" and "shrine"; and tso, "seat, is used as a classifier of buildings, pagodas, etc.
- 9. July: see Brünnow, 3194. But ngan may be compared with Chinese ngan, "peaceful," "to tranquillize."

The analysis of  $\mathbb{Z}[A]$   $\mathbb{Z}[A]$  seems to be hand + lift up:  $\not\sqsubseteq$  is  $gun = na\check{s}\bar{u}$  ša eni. Cp. also nam-ku-na = šahluqtu, "destruction," 4 R. 30, 22/25 a. "Stopper of hand-lifting" (i.e., fighting)= mutir šulme, "restorer of peace." zu appears to be used as a copula;

BRÜNNOW, 142; 5 R. 21, 19 i (=  $\langle$ ). kia anu zu = earth heavenwith; lit. perhaps "earth heaven add." The Assyrian paraphrases by "the mighty gods"; a general expression which here includes all the Powers of heaven and earth. The Chinese of the south say tien-ti (= dim-dib), "heaven (and) earth," for God or gods.

11. en-a-ni is probably not "his lord" here. Taking the Assyrian line for our guide, we identify it with ina nikilmišu, "with his look"; cp. en-nun, "to watch"; igi(n), "eye"; kin (= gin), "to look to"; and the Chinese yen, ngan,  $nge^n$ , "eye." En is from gan, gin.

 $ana = šaq\bar{u}$ , "high" (Chinese ang).

13. Assyrian: "the lord of kings  $\P$  both in 4 R<sup>1</sup> and 4 R<sup>2</sup>. Leg. either  $\P$   $\P$   $\P$ , or perhaps  $\P$   $\P$  ("the lord of the kings—šarrūtu (?)—of men").

"to hold," "to have," is also causative, "to make to have or hold"; "to confer on";  $ras\bar{u}$ , "to grant," "bestow," 4 R. 12, 40. The Assyrian here renders it by  $z\bar{a}zu$ , "to part" and "impart."

15. E > E > I > I > II > EI, Assyrian šubtaku Babili, "Thy seat is Babylon." As is one of the values of E, it may be a gloss, so that mu, "seat," would correspond to gu (cp. gu-za).

As for  $\exists shu$ , it may be equivalent to  $\Rightarrow \exists u$ , "thy," the Chinese zhu. Ought we rather to read  $\exists zi$  or shi, "thy"?

Gishgalla, "door," as a name of Babylon, recalls ka-dingirra, "Gate of God." Cp. Ur-Bau, col. II, 2, Gišgalla-ki (AMIAUD).

FYIYE EYIYEY looks like plants + crown (mer =  $ag\bar{u}$ ). Kinnir = ki(n), "place" + nir, "temple-tower" (ziggurratu; 2 R. 50, 1 a). "Place of the Tower" was a suitable name for Borsippa, the site of the Birs Nimrūd. Kin-nir resembles kin-gi, kin-dir, etc.

17.  $\check{s}ag$ ,  $\check{s}ab$ ,  $\check{s}a$ , "heart," "middle," is also "total," "all" (puhru; 5 R. 21, 63g); so that  $\check{s}ag$  bi = "all of them": the Assyrian gimir, which is brief for gimir- $\check{s}unu$ . Bi is plural; see on l. 11.

EVY (peš, kir, is defined kabittu, "liver," libbu, "heart," mamlu, "fullness." Another peš is "pregnant" (cp. Chinese pit, p'ei, "pregnant," "fullness").



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 6th December, 1892, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

- I. P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*).—"Notes on the different Egyptian Versions of the Bible."
- II. P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*).—" The Book of the Dead," Chapter XIX, and following.
- III. W. F. AINSWORTH, F.S.A.—"The Two Captivities: The Habor and Chebar."

# THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.
AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
Contes de l'Égypie Chrétienne.
La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
AMIAUD, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.
A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes
et Assyriennes.
Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
BAETHGEN, Beitrage zur Semitischen Religiongeshichte. Der Gott Israels und
der Götter der Heiden.
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derer Berucksichtigung der Keilschriftlichen Quellen.

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## BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER XV. Papyrus of Ani.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

Papyrus, Leyden, T. 16.



CHAPTER XXII. Tomb of Bekenrenef. LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bl. 267.



CHAPTER XXVIII.
NICHOLSON, "Egyptiaca."



CHAPTER XXIII. Tomb of Bekenrenef. Lepsius, "Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bl. 260.



CHAPTER XXII. Papyrus of Ani.

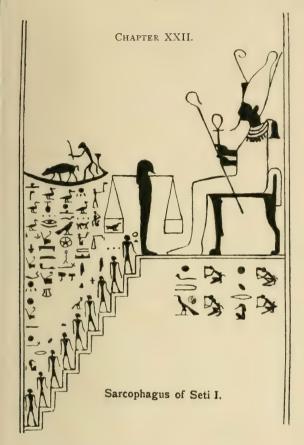


CHAPTER XXIII.
Papyrus, British Museum, 9900.



CHAPTER XXIV. Papyrus of Ani.

#### BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER XXIII.



LEPSIUS, "Todtenbuch," 17, Vignette.

CHAPTER XXVII.



Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, III, 36.

CHAPTER XXVII.



Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, III, 89.

#### CHAPTER XXVII.



Papyrus of Ani.



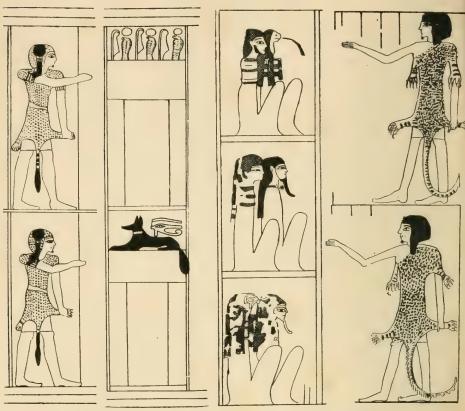


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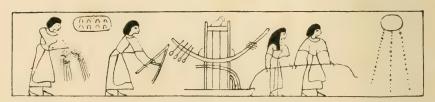


#### BOOK OF THE DEAD.



Papyrus of Ani.
Introduction to Chapter XVIII.

Leyden Papyrus.

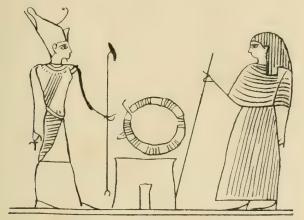


CHAPTER XVIII. Papyrus Busca. See NAVILLE, "Book of the Dead."

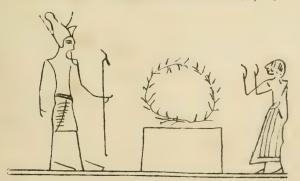
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CHAPTER XVIII. BRUGSCH, "Thesaurus," Vol. V, p. 1190.



CHAPTER XIX. Papyrus du Louvre, 440. E. DE ROUGÉ, "Études sur le Rituel Funéraire," p. 14.



CHAPTER XIX. Papyrus du Louvre, 3079. E. de Rougé, "Études sur le Rituel Funéraire," p. 13.



### PROCEEDINGS

OF

## THE SOCIETY

OF

## BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

### VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

Second Meeting, December 6th, 1892.

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1892.

## SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

#### **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

## THE SOCIETY

OF

## BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

Second Meeting, 6th December, 1892.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., PRESIDENT

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

A special vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. E. de Bunsen for his present to the Library.

From the Secretary of State for India in Council:-

The Sacred Books of the East :-

Vol. XXX, The Grihya-Sûtras: Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies. Translated by Herman Oldenburg. 8vo. 1892.

Vol. XXXII, Vedic Hymns. Translated by F. Max Müller. 8vo. 1891.

Vol. XXXVII, Pahlavi Texts. Translated by E. W. West, Esq. 8vo. 1892.

[No. cxi.]

From Ernst de Bunsen:-

I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, illustrati dal Prof. Ippolito Rosellini. Folio. 3 vols. of Plates in 2. Pisa. 1832.

Text. 8vo. Pisa.

Monumenti Storici. 4 vols. in 5. Pisa. 1832-41.

Monumenti Civili. 3 vols. 1834-36.

Monumenti del Culto. 1 vol. 1844-

#### From Walter L. Nash:—

Antiquity of the Egyptian Calendar. By D. W. Nash, Esq., F.L.S. London. 1849.

Merlin the Enchanter and Merlin the Bard. By W. D Nash.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittîm o Hethei e delle Loro Migrazioni. Cap. XXII.

From the Author:—Rev. C. J. Ball, M.R.A.S. A Babylonian Ritual Text.

From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. 8vo. 1892.

From J. Offord, jun.:—P. Bortolotti. Del Primitivo Cubito Egizio. Fascicolo II. Folio Modena. 1789.

From the Author:—Dr. Fritz Hommel. Der babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur. München. 8vo. 1892.

From the Author:—Dr. Fritz Hommel. Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabistisch-semitologischen Inhalts. München. 8vo. 1892.

From the Publisher:—Mayer and Müller. Aus Masorah und Talmudkritik. Exegetische Studien von Bernhard Koenigsberger. Berlin. 8vo. 1892.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 1st November, 1892, and elected Members of the Society:—

Mrs. Aitken, 27, Great King Street, Edinburgh.

Miss Brocklehurst, Bagstones, Macclesfield.

Miss Cropper, Eller Green, near Kendal.

Thomas Goffey, "Amalfi," Blundell Sands, near Liverpool.

William Sutherland Hunter, Kildonan, Pollokshields, Glasgow.

Rev. Harry Hamilton Jackson, M.A., Cheriton, Bromley Common, Kent.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 10th January, 1893:—

Elijah Coffin, 222, Gresham House, Old Broad Street, E.C.

Charles Stanley Hopkins, 6, Peel Terrace, Gosport, Hants.

Count Riano d'Hulst, Cairo, Egypt.

George Margoliouth, B.A., British Museum, W.C.

Rev. Joseph Henry Sutton Moxly, B.A., The Firs, Brentwood, Essex.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*), "Notes on the different Egyptian Versions of the Bible."

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy and the President.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead. A Translation with commentary of the XXIst and other Chapters.

Remarks were added by E. Towry Whyte, Dr. Gladstone, Walter L. Nash, P. R. Reed and the President.

A Paper by W. Francis Ainsworth, F.S.A., "The Two Captivities: The Habor and the Chebar," was read by the Secretary.

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy.

Thanks were returned for these Communications.



The following is the first part of a Summary of the Remarks made by the President, when opening the Twenty-third Session of the Society, on certain topics of interest to the Society to which attention has been directed either here or abroad. The remaining part will appear in February.

I. Several attempts have been made during the last year or two, both here and in America, to identify the Pharaoh of the Exodus with one or another of the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty, in opposition to the now generally received opinion that the Exodus did not take place till a much later time. There is an interval of three centuries at least between Thothmes I and Hatshepsit (whom I have seen identified with the Princess who saved the infant Moses) on the one side and Menepthah on the other.

As these essays do not proceed from Egyptologists, but from writers who are apparently under the impression that their views are in closer harmony with the Biblical narrative and with the belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, I think it well to state the exact nature of the extremely small amount of help which Egyptology can contribute to the solution of the question.

It should be thoroughly understood that the Egyptian records, on the one hand, know absolutely nothing about the Israelites; and, on the other, that the Biblical references to Egyptian matters are never characteristic of any particular reign or epoch, until we have come to a much later date than that of the Exodus. It is easy enough to identify Tirhakah or Necho or Shishak, but we are entirely deficient in data from which to identify the Pharaohs of Abraham, Isaac, Joseph or Moses. We do not even know whence the Biblical writers took the name or title of Pharaoh.

The early histories of Israel and of Egypt, so far as the records are known to us, are so absolutely independent of each other and so deficient in positive synchronisms, that the date of the Exodus, and of the Egyptian king who is connected with it, may be assigned to any year we fancy to be most consistent with our individual notions of Biblical chronology, without incurring the shadow of a chance of either contradiction or confirmation from Egyptian history.

There is, it is true, one word (but *one* word only) in the Biblical narrative which holds out the promise of a synchronism. This is the name of Rameses, as that of one of the cities which the captive Israelites were occupied in building. The name of Rameses points to a particular date. It is as significant of a celebrated historical personage as those of Alexandria, Ptolemais, Seleucia, Petersburg, or Washington. The name itself did not exist before the XIXth dynasty. It is not formed like those of Thoth-mes, Hor-mes, Chonsu-mes, or Ra-mes. A reduplicated form of the last of these names was assumed by the first Rameses and by his descendants.

We must be careful, however, before we draw an inference from this important fact. Egyptologists have generally inferred from it that the Exodus could not have taken place before the XIXth dynasty. Are they, however, prepared to draw a like inference from the statement in the book of Genesis, xlvii, 11, that Joseph gave his father and his brethren "a possession in the land of Egypt, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded"?

No one, as far as I am aware, has inferred from this that Joseph and his Pharaoh were later than the XVIIIth dynasty. It is generally understood that Rameses was the name given, at a later period, to the land which was once possessed by the Israelites. And the name of Rameses may have been used in like manner by "anticipation" in the book of Exodus. The town built by the Israelites may have received the name of Rameses in later days in honour of the great conqueror. If this be so, no real synchronism exists, and the Exodus may have taken place at any time before the beginning of the XIXth dynasty.

All this is quite true, but what advantage do our pious friends see in such a result?

They may dissociate Moses and the Exodus from the date of any Rameses, but they cannot so dissociate the writer of the sacred narrative. He certainly did not live *before* the great Rameses, and he may have lived many centuries later. The farther back they place the Exodus the more clear it becomes that the Pentateuch could not have been written by Moses, and the less claim has the narrative to be considered contemporaneous or even recent history.

The name of Rameses is the one and only basis of an argument in this question. But two other sources have been mentioned, and I must say a word or two about them.

The first of these is a passage of Manetho, who is quoted by

Josephus, as giving the name of Amenophis to the king who expelled the lepers and other unclean people, under which term the Hebrews are supposed to be meant. The royal name of Amenophis is never found after the XVIIIth dysnasty. But either Josephus or a copyist has blundered at this name, because Manetho in this quotation says the king in question was the son of Rampses and the father of Sethos, names belonging to the XIXth dynasty.

No importance should be attached to any of the statements attributed to Manetho when it cannot be verified by the monuments. They are in general unhistorical, and for the most part fabulous. No one who had access to genuine historical information could possibly ascribe the third Pyramid to a queen Nitokris, or tell us that the Saite nome derived its name from the foreign king Saites. Egyptologists have wasted too much time upon his rubbish, and those who are not Egyptologists are sure to go wrong if they depend upon him.

Astronomical calculations have been referred to, and I can have no objection to them if they are correct and if the data upon which they depend are true. But however infallible the Multiplication Table may be, or yet the Logarithmic Tables, they cannot help us unless we have solid facts upon which we can bring them to bear. Unfortunately there is nothing on the Egyptian documents which have as yet come down to us which can by astronomical calculation be made to result in a date. I know that some Egyptologists have thought so, but a man may be an excellent Egyptologist and a very bad astronomer. Some of our best scholars are ignorant of the difference between the rising and the culmination of a star, and they talk as if the heliacal risings could be noted at each of the twelve hours before sun-rise. When ignorance of astronomical science is so complete, what can be expected? In proportion to this knowledge of both science and languages the conviction grows upon one, as it did upon the late M. de Rougé, that no materials have yet been discovered for fixing historical dates in periods of Egyptian history as far back as the Hebrew Exodus.\*

<sup>\*</sup> I am not arguing against my own Dissertation on the Calendars of Biban-el-Moluk.

I did not attempt, for I knew that it was hopeless, to find the historical date of the reigns to which the tombs belong in which the Calendar is found. What I attempted, and I trust with success, was something quite different.

#### THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

#### CHAPTER XXI.

Chapter whereby the mouth of a person is given to him in the Netherworld,

Hail to thee, Lord of Light, who art Prince of the House which is encircled by Darkness and Obscurity. I am come to thee glorified and purified.

My hands are behind thee; thy portion is that of those who have gone before thee. (1)

Give me my mouth that I may speak with it; and guide (2) my heart at its hour of Darkness and Night.

#### NOTES.

The oldest papyrus containing this chapter is that of Ani, and the translation is based upon it. But the text differs both from those written on the very ancient coffins of Heru and Set-Bastit, copied by M. Maspero,\* and from the later texts.

The second paragraph seems to be spoken by the god, the first and third being from the deceased.

"My hands are behind thee" is a formula implying protection.

On the coffins the invocation is addressed not to "Osiris, Lord of Light" or "Radiant One" , but to the , but to the , of the House of Darkness and Obscurity."

Instead of without a determinative, but the word means.

<sup>\*</sup> Mission Archéologique Française, II, p. 216 and 223. The text is unfortunately incomplete on both coffins.

This ancient text continues—"Come thou to me, glorified and purified; let thy hands [here the text is obliterated], shine thou with thine head ( Give me my mouth that I may speak with it, and guide me on the glorious roads which are in heaven."

The Turin text is very corrupt, and parts of it are incapable of translation.

2. "Let me guide," according to the Ani Papyrus. But the later (hieratic) texts have the second person  $\bigwedge$   $\bigwedge$   $\bigwedge$  which is more correct.

#### CHAPTER XXII.

Another Chapter whereby the Mouth of a person is given to him in the Netherworld.

I shine forth out of the Egg which is in the unseen world. (1) Let there be given my mouth that I may speak with it in presence of the great god, Lord of the Tuat. Let not my hand be repulsed by the Divine Circle of the great god.

I am Osiris, the Lord of Restau, the same who is at the head of the Staircase. (2)

I am come to do the will of my heart, out of the Abode of Flame, which I extinguish when I come forth. (3)

#### NOTES.

This is one of the chapters of which the text certainly belongs to the earliest epoch. It is one of those copied by Wilkinson from the coffin (2) of Queen Mentuhotep. In the Papyrus of Ani it is followed by Chapter 21 as its conclusion, and both chapters are appended to Chapter 1, before the rubric belonging to that chapter.

1. The Egg in the unseen world is the globe of the Sun while yet below the horizon. It is only through a mistranslation of Chapter 54, 2 that the Indian notion of a 'Mundane Egg' has been ascribed to the Egyptians.

The 17th Chapter addresses "Rā in thine Egg, who risest up in thine orb, and shinest from thine Horizon."

2. See the picture of Osiris at the head of the Staircase, which is here given as represented on the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I in the Soane Museum. Similar pictures are given on other sarcophagi. The gods on the stairs are called of the Staircase, which is here given as represented on the staircase.

The 'Staircase of the great god' at Abydos, is frequently mentioned on the funeral stelae.

3. The Abode of Flame. See Chapter 1, note 15. The red glow of the Sky disappears after the Sun has risen, he is therefore said to "extinguish the Flame" after he has come forth. The same notion is expressed in the myth according to which Horus strikes off the head of his mother.

#### CHAPTER XXIII.

Chapter whereby the Mouth of a person is opened for him in the Netherworld.

He saith: Let my mouth be opened by Ptah, and let the muzzles which are upon my mouth be loosed by the god of my domain.(1)

Then let Thoth come, full and equipped with Words of Power,\* and let him loose the muzzles of Sutu which are upon my mouth, and let Tmu lend a hand to fling them at the assailants.

Let my mouth be given to me. Let my mouth be opened by Ptah with that instrument of steel (2) wherewith he openeth the mouths of the gods.

I am Sechit (3) Uat'it who sitteth on the right side of Heaven: I am Sahit encircled by the Spirits of Heliopolis.†

And all the Words of Power, and all the accusations which are uttered against me—the gods stand firm against them: the cycles of the gods unitedly.

#### Notes.

1. Osiris. On the sense of  $\sqrt[n]{2}$ , literally 'the god of the domain,' see the articles of M. Naville and Professor Piehl, Zeitschr.,

1880, 146; 1881, 24 and 64. I hold with Dr. Piehl that the domain meant in this formula is Abydos, and that the god is Osiris.

2. The word here translated 'steel' is \( \sum\_{\coloredge} \sum\_{

A description of the Ceremonies of the Opening of the Mouth as performed at the tomb will be found in the Introduction to this translation.

3. The name of this goddess is phonetically written  $\bigcap_{\square} Sht$  in the Pyramid texts of Unas (l. 390), where the Murray Papyrus and other texts have the ordinary  $\bigcap_{\square} Sht$ . The reading Sechemet is indefensible. Cf. *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XII, p. 365.

#### CHAPTER XXIV.

Chapter whereby the Words of Power are brought to a Person in the Netherworld.

I am Chepera, the self-produced, on his Mother's thigh. (1)

The speed of bloodhounds is given to those who are in Heaven,\* and the mettle of hyaenas(2) to those who belong to the Divine Circle.

Lo, I bring this my Word of Power, and I collect this Word of Power from every quarter in which it is, more persistently (3) than hounds of chase and more swiftly than the Light.

O thou who guidest the Bark of Rā, sound is thy rigging and free from disaster as thou passest on to the Abode of Flame.

Lo, I collect † this my Word of Power from every quarter in which it is, in behalf of every person whom it concerneth, more persistently than hounds of chase and more swiftly than Light; the same (4) who create the gods out of Silence, or reduce them to inactivity; the same who impart warmth to the gods.

Lo, I collect this my Word of Power from every quarter in which it is, in behalf of every person whom it concerneth, more persistently than hounds of chase and more swiftly than the Light.

#### Notes.

This is another of those chapters of which the antiquity is proved by the coffins of Horhotep and Queen Mentuhotep. And even in the early times to which these coffins belong it must have been extremely difficult to understand. In the translation here given I have adhered as closely as possible to the oldest texts, but these, as the variants show, are not entirely trustworthy.

- 1. Thigh. This is the usual translation, which accords with the frequent pictures of the goddess Nut, as the Sky, with the divine Scarab in the position described.\* But signifies that which runs, from uār, run, fugere; and the noun (the runner) is often applied to running water. It is the geographical name of a river or canal. M. Naville has already pointed out that in the Book of the Dead it has for variants are and running water.
- 2. The names of these two animals (especially of the second) vary greatly in the texts. But if we wish rightly to understand the sense of the chapter, we must bear in mind that it is not the animals themselves that are meant, but the characteristics implied by the names of the animals. And as the Sanskrit  $v_r kas$ , the Greek  $\lambda \dot{v} \kappa o v_r$ , the old Slavonic vluku, the Gothic vulfs, and our own wolf, signify the volfs, so does the Egyptian volfs, whether signifying volfs, volfs, volfs, or volfs, or volfs, indicate volfs.

The names of the second animal in the earlier texts, whether they stand for hyænas \( \), or for other animals of the chase \( \), imply either speed or ferocity. And what must we understand under the latter term? We must look to the context. It is of a god speaking of himself and of his attributes. He is proud of them, and certainly does not wish them to be taken in a bad sense. Nor is it necessary that we should do so. We have only to remember what we learnt at school.

<sup>\*</sup> See also the last picture in the Vignette of Chapter 17 in the Turin and all the later papyri.

Cicero (de Sen., 10, 33) contrasts the 'ferocitas juvenum,' the high pluck of the young, with the 'infirmitas puerorum,' and the 'gravitas' and 'maturitas' of later periods of life.

Livy uses the term ferox, in the same sense as Cicero.

What we have to understand of the Egyptian expression is, 'mettlesome, of high, unbridled spirit.'

In the later texts the *Bennu* bird has been substituted for the beasts of the chase.

3. The later texts read , but all the earlier ones give another word or . This is often used in a bad sense, when spoken of the enemy; but it merely implies tenacity, pertinacity, obstinacy, which are, of course, very bad things in opposition, but in themselves virtues of a high order.\*

The word is used as a name for the divine Cynocephali

who appear at sunrise over the Abode of Flame.

4. The same who bringeth into being the gods out of

Silence, or reduceth them to inactivity.

In addition to this interesting utterance of Egyptian theology, we have to note the idea of Silence as the origin of the gods, or powers of nature. The notion was also current in the Greek world. The writer of the Philosophumena (VI, 22) speaks of  $\dot{\eta}$  improved  $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\dot{\nu}\eta$   $\pi a\rho\dot{a}$   $\tau o\hat{\epsilon}s$   $E\lambda\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon$   $\Sigma \epsilon\gamma\dot{\eta}$ . It was from this source that the early Gnostic Valentinus borrowed this item of his system. St. Irenaeus (Haeres, II, 14) charges him with having taken it from the theogony of the comic poet Antiphanes.

#### CHAPTER XXV.

Chapter whereby a person remembereth his name in the Netherworld.

Let my name be given to me in the Great House. Let me remember my name in the House of Flame (1) on the Night wherein the Years are counted and the Months are reckoned, one by one.

<sup>\*</sup> Columella speaks of the "contumacia pervicax boum."

I am He who dwelleth in Heaven, and who sitteth on the Eastern side of Heaven: and if there be any god who cometh not in my train, I utter his name at once.

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#### NOTES.

as most sacred adyta at the extremity opposite to the entrance. The former occupied the central position, like the Ladye Chapel in our cathedrals, and the latter stood by the side of it.



# THE TWO CAPTIVITIES. THE HABOR AND THE CHEBAR.

By W. Francis Ainsworth, F.S.A.

It is essential in determining the difference between the two rivers of Habor and Chebar, and connecting them with existing representatives, that it should be understood that there were several deportations of Judah and Israel to the East, but these divide themselves into two separate and distinct groups.

The first on record was effected by Tiglath Pileser, who carried off the pastoral population beyond Jordan with Zebulon and Napthali (2 Kings xv, 29). This was in 741 B.C. Assyria was at that epoch rising in power, and it was probably to populate outlying districts that these deportations were effected.

The Egyptians according to 2 Chron. xxxv, 20, came up at a later period to fight against 'Carchemish by Euphrates,' and Josiah went out against them, and it would appear from Jer. xlvi, 2, that Pharaoh Necho still held that land in the time of Nebuchadrezzar.

The second deportation was carried out by Shalmaneser in the days of Hosea and Jehoiakim, and this king attacked and reduced Samaria and transported the children of Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and Habor by the river of Gozan and in the cities of the Medes (2 Kings xvii, 6).

The third deportation, and the second group, took place in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, in the days of Jehoiakim, and this monarch removed king and people into Babylonia. This indeed constituted the Babylonish captivity, or that of the seventy years (Jer. xxv, 11, 12).

Two separate deportations are alluded to in the book of Kings, three in that of Jeremiah, while an earlier one is alluded to in the book of Daniel. The discrepancy not only occurs between the events recorded in the book of Daniel and those narrated in the books of Kings and Chronicles, but 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6, is not in accordance with 2 Kings xxiv.

Daniel and his companions appear to have been the first removed to Babylonia. Next Jehoiakim or Jehoiachin and his court were deported to "Babylonia and the land of the Chaldaeans" (2 Kings xxiv, 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6, 7; Jer. xxiv, 5, 6). It was then also that Ezekiel was carried into Babylonia (Ezek. i, 2); whilst Mordecai was removed as far as Shushan (Esth. ii, 6).

Subsequently, the Holy City and Temple were destroyed by Nebu-zar-adan, when there was a further deportation as well as a general exode or emigration of Jews into Egypt, Sheba, Spain, and other lands.

Although it is impossible in the present day to determine all the places to which Judah and Israel were deported by the Assyrians, still we have quite enough information to fix upon the chief places.

It appears from passages in 2 Kings xix, 12, and Isa. xxxvii, 12, in which Rezeph (Resapha) is included, that they went by the old road, and indeed the only available one across the desert by Tadmor or Palmyra, whence some were directed upon the Khabūr, and others by the pass at Thapsacus to Halah and by the river Bilecha to Haran (1 Chron. v, 26).

Halah, afterwards Callinicus (Chalne of Benj. of Tudela), and then as Rakka, the summer residence of Harun Ar Rashid, stood at the mouth of the Bilecha, the Cyrus, Belius, Basileum Flumen of different epochs, and the transit thence by Ichnae, fatal to Crassus Publius and Alama, a "mansio regia" according to Isidorus of Charax, on the same river, would present no difficulties.

Habor is mentioned as a town on the river of Gozan. Gozan, which signifies "pasture land," and the Assyrians of Kurdistan still call their summer pastures Zozan, was the Gauzanitis of the Romans, and from fertility may well have given its name to the river of Habor. The pastures of Gozan were watered by the Jerjub, and to the east was the Aeger Eliensis or pastures of Eleia (Amm. Marcellinus writes it Heleia), now Ai-uj; also known as the pastures of Nahab in Dyar-Rabbia watered by the Huali, both rivers being tributaries to the Khabūr. The latter plain is renowned for a conflict between the Romans under Constantine and the Persians. The valley of the river Khabūr presented a line of traffic in the time of the Assyrians and of the Khalifs of Baghdad, and was at both epochs dotted with towns and villages. The names of these in the latter epoch are recorded by El Wakedi in his history of the conquest of the Christian Kingdom of Resaina or Ras-al-Ain and Karkisha or Kirkisya. The

MS. recording the subjugation of Mesopotamia by the Muhammadans, was known to Gibbon and to Ockley, the author of the *History of the Saracens*, but was not available to either. It was however recovered by, Ewald and a faithful translation is given in my *Pers. Narr. of the Euph. Exped.* (Vol. I, p. 327 et seq.).

Sir H. A. Layard discovered many relics of Assyrian times on the banks of the river, and among them the remains of a palatial temple, called Arban, which he identifies with the Arbonai of Judith. This was very probably the Habor of Holy Writ. Simocatta calls it "Castellum Aborensium." El Wakedi also notices it as a castle on the Khabūr distinct from Karkisha, and Schultens makes mention of it in his *Life of Saladin*. The town gave its name to the Khabūr, which river was known to Strabo as the Aborras; to Ptolemy as the Khabora, and to Ammianus Marcellinus and Zozimus as the Aboras.

The Madai or Medes who dwelt on the banks of the Khabūr can scarcely have been the same as the Medes of Media proper, and we are indebted to Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge for discovering that their name in the cuneiform was Mitâni. They had their kings, and Amenophis III, who was as partial to these renowned hunting grounds as Tiglath Pileser, married one of their daughters.\* It has also been found that Karkisha is written Kirki in the Inscriptions. This is simply Kir in 2 Kings xvi, 9, and Isaiah xxii, 6. Kir signifies naphtha or bitumen. We have an example in the well-known naphtha springs at Kir-Kūk in Kurdistan.† Neubauer tells us (Geo. du Talmud, p. 354) that Kir of Isaiah was also Kirkisyon,

<sup>\*</sup> The cuneiform despatches decyphered by Mr. Budge, state that "Mitâni was situated in front of Hâtti (Khetta or Hittites), that is to say somewhere near Car'chemish, or in the district called by the Egyptians Neherna, that is Mesopotamia."

<sup>†</sup> Kir-Kūk was one of the treasuries or chief strongholds of the East, known to the Greeks as Ecbatanas. Its fortress, now in ruins, was of vast dimensions. Plutarch describes Alexander the Great as proceeding after the battle of Arbela through the provinces of Babylon to Ecbatana, where he was particularly struck with a gulf of fire, which streamed perpetually from an inexhaustible source. He was surprised also by a flood of naphtha which flowed in such abundance that it formed a lake. Transpose "hill" for "gulf," these phenomena are to be seen at Kir-Kūk to the present day, but are not to be met with at the Atropatenian Ecbatana (Takhti Sulaïman), at the Median Ecbatana (Hamadan), at the Assyrian Ecbatana (Amadiyah), the Persian Ecbatana (Persepolis), the Parthian treasuries at Anatho and Thilultha, or the Syrian treasuries of Gaza and Mount Carmel. The identification is of importance to commentators on the historians of Alexander.

whence Kirkisyeh and Kircessium or Circessium and Cercusium, both Roman names for Karkisha. There was also a Kir in Moab, now Kirak, believed to be the same as Kir-haraseth and Kir-heres (2 Kings iii, 21; Jer. xlviii, 31, 36).

Unfortunately, from proximity of name, although Habor is written with a cheth and Chebar with a caph in Kings and Chronicles, the Habor has been confounded with the latter river from olden to modern times. The mistake is propagated in the Bible Dictionary (Art. Ezekiel), and in the Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature (Art. Chebar and Ezekiel), and so discerning a traveller as Sir H. A. Layard perpetuates the same error when he writes: "To the Chebar" (applying this name to the Khabūr) "were transported by the Assyrian king, after the destruction of Samaria, the captive children of Israel, and on its banks 'the heavens were opened' to Ezekiel, and 'he saw visions of God,' and spake his prophecies to his brother exiles. Around Arban may have been pitched the tents of the sorrowing Jews, as those of the Arabs were during my visit. To the same pastures they led their sheep, and they drank of the same waters. Then the banks of the river were covered with towns and villages, and a palace-temple still stood on the mound, reflected in the transparent stream."

The latter part of the paragraph applies eloquently and picturesquely to the Israelites deported by the Assyrians; but Ezekiel, as we have before shown, was one of the victims of the Babylonian Captivity. "We know," adds the same great authority, 'that Jews still lingered in the cities of the Khabūr until long after the Arab invasion, and we may perhaps recognise in the Jewish communities of Ras-al-Aïn, at the sources of the river, and of Karkisia or Carchemish, at its confluence with the Euphrates, visited and described by Benjamin of Tudela in the latter end of the twelfth century of the Christian era, the descendants of the captive Israelites.

Benjamin of Tudela, it is to be observed, identified Karkisia or Karkisha with Carchemish or Kharkh'mish, as he writes it, as he did Rakka with Calneh, by which it is presumed he meant Halah or Calah, not Chalne, a primeval city in the land of Shinar.

We now come to the Chebar, or 'great river' of Babylonia, for that is the meaning of the appelation—in Arabic 'kebir.' Mr. Ormuzd Rassam has recently advocated in the *Jour. of Trans. of the Victoria Institute* (2nd part of Vol. XXV), the identity of the four rivers of the 'Garden of Eden,' with the Euphrates, Tigris, Greater

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Zab and Jaïhūn or Pyramus. The idea is very ingenious, and the arguments brought forward in its favour equally so—if not convincing. They are all the more so, as the original population must have descended from higher lands. But the 'Garden of Eden' must be looked upon as a Jewish legend. Still as it stands we ought to abide by the strict Biblical record, "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted and became into four heads." It is the same in the Vulgate, and Mr. Rassam's rendering of the text by which he establishes that the river could have four heads apart, and at great distances from one another, is by no means satisfactory.

We still hold then by the idea, elsewhere advocated, that the Jewish notion of a Garden of Eden had Babylonia in view. It is only in such a country, that of a delta, that we can find a river—in this case the Euphrates—dividing into four or more branches, after passing from the higher country to the alluvial plains. This it does after passing a remarkable spot which Neubauer tells us in his Geographie du Talmud, p. 327, was known to the Jews as the "Gates of Paradise." This corresponds to the Indan or Pylæ of Xenophon, and the Massices and Macepracta of the Romans. The Sidd or Khalū Nimrūd, commonly known as 'the Median Wall,' took its departure from the same point to cross over to the Tigris. Below the derivatives from the Euphrates have flowed at times into the Tigris, at others the Tigris, as is still the case with the Shāt-al-Hye or Hai, have flowed into the Euphrates.

The first derivative from the Euphrates occurs at Lake Jazrūn, on the right bank of the river, and it is by its size and its historical importance well qualified to represent the Pison or 'spreading of waters,' or the Chebar, 'the great river.' It constituted indeed the Western Euphrates, and was looked upon by Pliny as the Euphrates proper, which at one time it appears to have been. Describing the division of the Euphrates (lib. V, cap. xxvi), he says, "Scinditur a Zeugmate octoginta tribus millibus passuum circa vicum Massicen et parte laeva in Mesopatamiam vadit per ipsam Seleuciam, circa eam præfluenti infusus Tigri. (The Nahr-Malcha.) Dexteriore autem alveo Babylonem, quondam Chaldwa caput petit, mediamque permeans distrahitur in Paludes." In another passage the same historian says, "Sed longo tempore Euphratem præclusere Orcheni et accolæ agros rigantes; nec nisi Pasitigri defertur in mare" (lib. VI, cap. xxvii). The Orcheni here alluded to were the people of Ur of the Chaldees

(Mukayir), and the Pasitigris was the name given to the lower part of the Western Euphrates, after the channel had been re-opened by the Macedonians.

It is to be observed here, that Sir Henry Rawlinson has published an exhaustive and eminently satisfactory paper upon the identity of the plain of Babylonia, or that portion of it which he calls Gan Eden, as the site of the Jewish legend, and this view of the subject is strengthened by the researches of modern Assyriolgists. Professor Sayce, for example, has shown that the plain of Babylonia is called in the cuneiform inscriptions Edinu, and in the older Akkadian Edin, 'a plain.' Pinches and Delitzch have also corroborated the statement that one of the Akkadian words for the country is Edina, and further that the Assyrian form of Edina or Edinu, is the same as Eden.

Neubauer, in his *Geographie du Talmud*, (p. 365) calls this first derivative of the Euphrates Nahr Sur or Sar. It was also known as Sura of Rab, or Sura Lake, now Jazrūn. Also as Sura of Perath or Frat (Euphrates). It is still called Sura, albeit pronounced as Sora.

According to the Talmud, Matha Meshaya,—the Massices of the Romans,—was a suburb of the city of Sura, which itself was one of the great seats of learning in the time of the 'Principality of the captive Jews.' The river or canal was also known to the Romans as the Nahr Sares, corrupted by Ptolemy into Maarsares and Marses.

It was, according to Pliny (vi, 24), "the Chebar or Chebar of the Old Testament;" the Kobar of the Septuagint and the Gobya of the Talmudists, upon the banks of which Nebuchadrezzar planted a colony of Jews, among whom was the prophet Ezekiel. In another paragraph (lib. VI, cap. 26) Pliny calls it Gobaris, and identifies it with the Nahr Malcha or Royal River. The Gobya of the Talmud and the Gobaris of Pliny are only other forms of Chebar, a name which Hieronymus (St. Jerome), referring to Ezekiel, says should be written Chebâr.

It is a remarkable fact that all the towns of old were built on the Western Euphrates, as Hira and Kufa, as also the more modern towns of Masjid Ali and Kerbellah. There were no towns on the Euphrates below Babylon, save the Ur of the Chaldees where the two rivers came into close conjunction. The cities of Chaldea proper were all on derivatives of the Euphrates or the Tigris.

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The tomb of Ezekiel, visited by many travellers, lies at Keffil on the Hindiah beyond Borsippa. The prophet appears to have dwelt chiefly at Tel Abīb, which has been identified with the Birs Nimrūd at Borsippa. Hence, Rabbi Petachia in his *Travels* translated by Dr. Benisch, was led to identify the Hindiyah canal with the Chebar, or Chabor as he has it, and he says "the river Euphrates and the river Chabor join; they can nevertheless be distinguished"—not a very clear statement.

But I think I have said enough to show that there were two different regions of captivity—the Assyrian and the Babylonian—and that the town and river of Habor in Mesopotamia was not the Chebar in Babylonia, where Ezekiel dwelt, saw his vision, and was ultimately buried. It is only surprising that such a question should require to be set at rest in the present day.



#### THE RAIYAN-MOERIS AND THE PTOLEMAIC MAPS.

#### By COPE WHITEHOUSE.

Prior to June, 1882, the entire scientific world accepted the theory of M. Linant de Bellefonds in regard to Lake Moeris. According to all Egyptologists, there was, in the fifth century B.C., a shallow reservoir, on the upper eastern plateau of the Fayoum. It was used to irrigate the fertile Arsinoïte Nome, which occupied the rest of the depression to the West. It covered about 45 miles and had a maximum depth, during the inundation, of about 30 feet. Herodotus, therefore, if this were correct, had wholly misdescribed what he had seen. There was no lake 450 miles in circumference, 50 fathoms deep, with its major axis from North to South, rising at each annual flood above the level of the low Nile at Memphis. No island, with two pyramids, two statues and a tomb, stood where the lake was deepest. On two low platforms at Biahmu, where the depth of water never exceeded 20 feet, two statues were believed to have been placed. These monuments, it was said, had been erroneously depicted as pyramids surmounted by two colossal enthroned figures. This was, briefly, the theory, which, from its adoption by Dr. Lepsius, had gained universal credence. It was challenged by me, in every material particular, in the Proceedings of this Society in June, 1882. There is no doubt that M. Linant was wrong. It seems almost inconceivable that the weight of authority attaching to the Director-General of Public Works (1843), Brugsch, Bunsen, Ebers, Lepsius, Mariette, Maspero, Oliphant (1881), and Schweinfurth (1880), should not have proved a guaranty of entire accuracy. So far as M. Linant is concerned, he deserves a larger measure of indulgence than was meted to him at my hands. Deeply impressed with the need of a storage-reservoir for Middle Egypt, he was led to identify the project he designed with that which he thought might have existed. "I ragionamenti, per così dire, matematici di Linant," (Benetti, Carta Idrografica d' Italia, 1892, p. 63), misled those who followed him.

According to the views put forward in the Proceedings of this Society (June, 1882, June, 1883), the entire Fayoum was submerged at the time it was visited by Herodotus. The Arsinoïte Nome had no existence. The depression had been a back-water of the Nile, like Albert Nyanza, before the natural intake of el-Lahun-Hawara was controlled by a regulator. The Arabic traditions on this point are correct. The Bahr Jūsuf, partly natural, partly artificial, was called by this name centuries before the time of Saladin. The tradition which associates the conversion of the Fayoum from a marsh and lake into a fertile province, by an engineer of alien race, before the Ramesside dynasty, with the preservation of Lower Egypt from the plagues of an ill-regulated Nile, contains a large element of truth. Manetho, supported by other ancient authorities, rightly says that the region was subsequently neglected. The use of the Fayoum as a flood-escape for the Nile, and a drainage basin for the adjacent province of Beni-Suef, is of such importance, that it is not difficult to understand, how even a fairly-enlightened government might permit the waters to rise inside the Fayoum to the natural level of the Nile. At all events, Herodotus saw it in this state. The Fayoum papyri, however, show, in detail, the reclamation under Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose success is described by Strabo and Diodorus. At length, the lake no longer curved round to the South, on the North-eastern shore; so that Pliny used the past tense, "fuit," of that part of the lake which had previously interposed between the Arsinoïte and the Memphite Nome, Medinet el-Fayoum and Dashur, as described by Mutianus.

So far as the theory of a Fayoum-Moeris is concerned, full corroboration of my levels, facts, and conclusions will be found in the recent work of Major Brown, Director-General of Irrigation for Upper Egypt. In *The Fayoum and Lake Moeris*, justly commended for its lucid statements and admirable illustrations, he arrives at the same results as regards Linant's theory, and cites the opinion of Colonel Ross, formerly Inspector-General of Irrigation, to the same effect.

Two points deserve special consideration. In 1882, I mentioned the existence of a temple in the desert to the north of Dimeh, which was indicated to my companion, Mr. Tristram Ellis, and myself, but which we were, for various reasons, prevented from approaching. Dr. Schweinfurth justly claims the honour of having made it known in 1885, by his accurate description. It was visited, photographed,

and levelled by me in 1889. Major Brown now furnishes the scientific world with the results of his visit in 1892.

This desert-temple is of great archæological importance, because it is six miles from the shore of the present lake el-Qerūn, nearly 250 feet above its level, without a possibility of a local water-supply, and possesses, in the present condition of the Fayoum, no characteristic feature to explain its situation. On the other hand, with a submerged Fayoum, it would be an important post on the direct route from the Little Oasis to Alexandria.

The promontory of Dimeh rises abruptly from the deepest part of the Fayoum. According to my view this is the pyramid-island in the Fayoum-Moeris. The repeated aneroid observations, on which I relied, are now replaced by an accurate line of levels, run by two skilled engineers, Messrs. W. O. Joseph and A. Pini, employed by the Egyptian Government, under the direction of Major Brown.

# Line of Levels from the Birket el-Qerun over Dimeh to the Desert Temple,

Lake Qerun, wate	r surfac	e. Mav	2. 180	2		-43'5
Plateau of Dimeh			, ,			.00
			• • •		• • •	+13.3
Plateau ,,	(North	end)		• • •		17.0
Causeway						25.4
Mounds in Dimeh	1					28.3
Depression, north	of Dim	eh	• • •	• • •		7.7
Ridge						14'4
Depression						6.1
Elevation						16.6
Depression						9.6
Pottery Mound at	Desert	Templ	e			24.6
Floor of Temple (	Chambe	er				35.5

These measurements are in metres below and above sea-level. Low-Nile at Memphis may be taken at 16 metres: High-Nile at el-Lahun at 26. Thus, if the Fayoum were submerged to the level of 22 metres, the surface of the lake el-Qerūn would be 65 metres higher than at present. Dimeh would be an island surmounted by ruins, "where the lake was deepest" (Herodotus). This lake might nowhere exceed 230 feet in depth, but, in such a matter, it would

surely be hypercritical to consider the 50 paces (250 feet) of Pliny, or the 50 fathoms of Herodotus and Diodorus, a serious exaggeration.

Without doubt this vast area would easily receive the dangerous surplus of the Nile. In order to double the Nile supply during the three months of early summer, it has been calculated that 2,000 million cubic metres should be available. If this Fayoum-Moeris rose and fell four metres, it would have sufficed to accomplish its annual task. Upper Egypt having taken from the river all it required, the Greek engineers were able, during the low-Nile, to keep all the channels of navigation and irrigation abundantly supplied from the Lake, by a stream of equal, if not greater volume, than that which reached Egypt at Philæ.

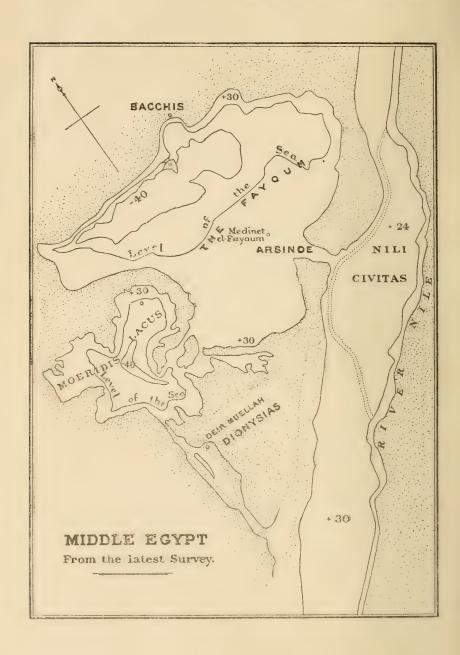
The Fayoum has not yet been fully contoured, but the accompanying map \* shows, approximately, the area below the level of the highest possible Nile in the adjacent valley. It will be seen that it is connected with the Raiyan basin on the South. The two passes are now blocked with sand and gravel to the height of high-Nile at el-Lahun.

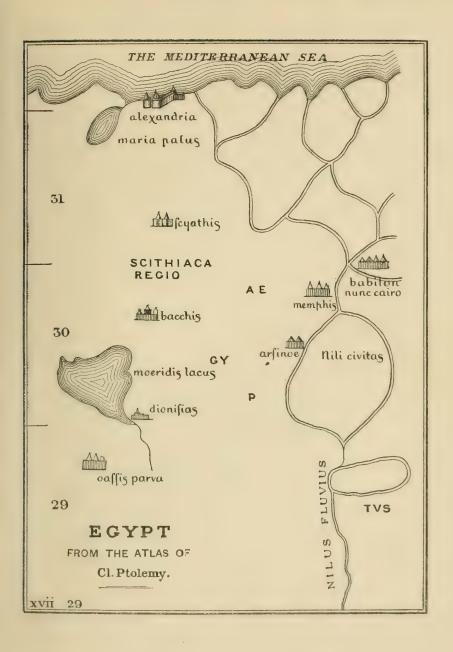
Professor Benetti says: "Le ricerche archeologiche aprirono al Whitehouse la via per lanciare nel mondo una di quelle proposte destinate a far epoca nella storia dell' ingegneria;" but, with these possible benefits to Egypt, this inquiry does not concern itself. The sole question is, whether the Raiyan Basin formed part of the great Lake of Herodotus, and was the only reservoir, the "Meridis Lacus" of Cl. Ptolemy, in A.D. 150.

It is certainly surprising, even if it is not a fatal objection, that no definite lacustrine remains, of late historic date, should have been found, either by myself in my nine expeditions, with their total of many weeks stay, or by the Government survey-parties, by Dr. Schweinfurth and Professor Mayer-Eymar. Herodotus states, with great precision, that the Lake, in his day, was longer than it was wide. It is easy to see that if this be admitted, even tentatively, I was bound to press to the South of the Fayoum, to ascertain whether there could have been an extension in that direction. It is indisputable that such an extension might have existed. If the Fayoum were again filled to the level conceded by Major Brown and Colonel Ross,

<sup>\*</sup> This map and the map from the atlas of Cl. Ptolemy were drawn by me for the Royal Geographical Society (*Proceedings*, Nov., 1890).









and fixed by the causeway at Dimeh, the insignificant barriers of sand could be easily removed, and the unbroken sheet of water would have its major axis parallel with the Nile.

It is not sufficient, in an exhaustive analysis of Lake Moeris, to commence with Herodotus and end with Pliny. We are quite as much bound to believe the Alexandrian geographer as the Ionian traveller, and to seek a rational explanation of his statements. My views were fully set out in the *Proceedings* for December, 1885. I now, however, add a copy of a manuscript map from an atlas in the Library at Venice. It is dated 1554, but it is obvious that its author copied the *Moeridis Lacus* from an exceptionally fine manuscript of Cl. Ptolemy.

The Latin text of Claudius Ptolemy is as follows:-

Et circa Moeridis paludem: Mastitæ populi

Bacchis	***	 60° 30′	***	***	29° 40′
Dionysias		 60° 30'			29° 00′

# et in Oasitas,

Oassis parva	 62°	15'	 • • •	28°	45'
Et Maria palus	 60°	15'	 	30°	50'
Et Moeridis Lacus	 60°	20'	 	29°	20'

Cl. Ptolemy therefore says that, in A.D. 150 there were two towns, forty minutes of latitude apart, in the province of Mer-ur, the land of ta-Se, the abode of the Mastitæ, with the same longitude. There is no place in the Fayoum which could be Bacchis, North of lat. 29° 20′, or more than six miles North of the present Lake. Dionysias was, then, at least ten miles South of Gharaq, and somewhat South of the Raiyan entrance to the long, narrow, Muellah depression. If the Wadi Raiyān formed no part of the district, connected with the Nile through the el-Lahun-Hawara intake, why should the oasis of Muellah have been reckoned as "circa Moeridis paludem"?

The Alexandrian cartographer also gives the centre of "Moeridis Lacus." It is ten minutes of longitude to the West of the line joining Bacchis and Dionysias, and equidistant from each of them. It is, therefore, not the centre of the Birket el-Qerūn, or of any Fayoum-Moeris which did not extend as far to the South of

29° 20' as it did to the North, (see authorities cited, *Proceedings*, December, 1885). These Ptolemaic data have since been worked out for me, separately, by three experts in Ptolemaic cartography. There is no gainsaying the plain fact that, if the Raiyān-Moeris never existed, it is an archæological problem of peculiar interest to know why Cl. Ptolemy carefully defined the situation of a dry valley, possessing now no sort of value, except as it may once more become a *Meri*, capable of discharging the functions of a flood-escape, and a storage reservoir.

The text of Cl. Ptolemy has never been disputed: the maps, prior to 1882, had been universally rejected. Masūdi, however, mentions a map of Egypt extant in A.D. 950. The Mount Athos atlas is of the twelfth century. Dr. Nordenskiold has now restored this monument of ancient geography to the rank which it held for sixteen centuries, and from which it is incredible that it should ever have been displaced. Lake Moeris varies in shape, but not in position, according to the technical execution and character of the map, from a point surrounded by colour, as in the MS. of Mount Athos, replaced by a cinquefoil in the printed edition of Berlingheri, to a definite form in the Roman editions (see Nordenskiold), and the Venetian manuscript atlas of 1554. It undergoes modifications in the seventeenth century, as shown in the Frankfurt edition of Mercator, A.D. 1605. These changes are clearly due to the erroneous identification of the Raiyān-Moeris of A.D. 150, with the Fayoum-Moeris of B.C. 450, reconstructed from the text of Herodotus. They arise, therefore, from attempts to combine and confound, not to reconcile, the descriptions of the earlier Greek authors with that of Cl. Ptolemy, as if they were synchronous, and no changes had taken place in the development of the Arsinoïte Nome, when Oasr Oeroun was built 50 feet below the level of the causeway at Dimeh.

The Fayoum-Moeris was reached by the traveller from Memphis before he arrived at Arsinoe: It was not far from Hawara: It extended not less than twenty miles to the South of it. The Ptolemaic-Moeris is entirely South and South-West of the Fayoum: its form is unconventional: Bacchis is not on its northern shore: Dionysias is not, as the Ptolemaic text might otherwise have been thought to imply, at the Southern extremity: The long, narrow, valley does not communicate with the Nile.

In this connection, I ought, perhaps, to cite the inscription which I found on a fragment of the Fayoum papyrus, previously unknown.

Rā it is who enters the Southern pool, Mer of ta-Se.

It would be, however, a mistake to attach much weight to the Southern position here assigned to Moeris. It may refer to the Fayoum-Moeris, as bearing South from Memphis. More importance attaches to the four Canals of the Fayoum papyrus, as completed by my discovery of the first line (*Leemans' Volume*, 1885), and the Western Canal' of Arabic tradition, "into the desert of Beni Hamed."

The Wadi Raiyān can be converted into a lake having this form and position. It would make an efficient regulator of the Nile flood, and an efficient feeder for supplementing the low Nile. "The reservoir would return to the Nile Valley 2,160 million cubic metres available for irrigation. Now 60 days is given as the critical period in Lower Egypt, when the Nile supply is generally insufficient. Calculating with a period of 100 days, which is the length of the critical period for Upper Egypt, we obtain a mean discharge of 20 million cubic metres a day, which might be so distributed as to prevent the minimum Nile falling, at any rate, below 45 million cubic metres a day" (Brown, p. 107).

How far these coincidences amount to proof must be left for each student of the Fayoum to determine for himself. The map of the French Expedition (1809, and 1882,) marks unbroken desert to the South of the Fayoum. In 1887, Lord Cromer informed the Marquis of Salisbury that, "Mr. Cope Whitehouse's scholastic researches led him to believe that a depression existed to the South of the Fayoum. Levels were taken (by engineers in the employ of the Egyptian Government) last winter, and it was discovered that the depression termed (by him) the Raiyān Basin did actually exist." "It was very much to Mr. Whitehouse's credit that he should have made the discovery." "There is good hope that it may be utilized to the benefit of Egypt. If this hope is realised, Mr. Cope Whitehouse will have a fair claim to a reward proportionate to the advantages which, after full examination, it is found will accrue to the Government and population of Egypt from this discovery." (Meme-

randum on the Raiyān Project and the action of Her Majesty's Government, 1891, p. 6).

In 1892, the Egyptian Government states that the Wadi Raiyān is a depression, a short distance from the Nile valley (13 kilom.), which if filled with water up to 24 metres (above sea) would become a lake, having a surface of about 600 million square metres, and a greatest depth of 64 metres. The only question being now considered by the Ministry of Public Works, is whether it is also the best plan for accomplishing the desired results.

In B.C. 1800, it is said, in Semitic records, that a Hyksos Pharaoh, Raivan ibn el-Walid, was haunted by the vision of the ever-recurring periods of drought and deluge. Seven years of good Nile, with an inundation rising to a beneficent height, and falling rapidly to a volume which never shrank below the requirements of the summer crops, filled the treasury of Egypt, while the surplus of its granaries fed the neighbouring lands, from Arabia on the East to Tripoli on the West. Seven years of bad Nile, however, surely followed. The cattle were driven to the desert, or took refuge on mounds, amid a waste of waters. Food was exhausted. It seemed as if the river would never suffice to carry off the enormous tropical rain-fall. It ebbed a few inches to rise again with renewed destructive force. Again, it seemed as if the Nile would never rise, and stories of its diversion into the Red Sea were eagerly believed. Egypt, after a series of such conflicts, would lie exhausted, until a fresh cycle of good years had restored her wealth, filled out the seven ears of corn, upon one stalk, rank and good; while the well-favoured kine, fat-fleshed, fed in the meadows (Gen. xli). At this juncture an engineer of the royal, alien race, bearing the auspicious name of Joseph (Jūsuf) is recommended to the notice of the king. The valley of the Nile was already filled with monuments of human achievements in enduring stone, of such unrivalled perfection, that they are as highly esteemed by the Phoenicians of to-day as when they ranked among the Wonders of the Roman world: one-half of Lower Egypt was morass and shallow lake, or alluvial soil covered with drift-sand and saline efflorescence, as it also is to-day.

This statesman, or engineer, is said to have been invested with supreme control over feudal lord and peasant. He receives a name which denotes "the Life"  $(pa-an\chi)$  he gives to a land, where he "added" a second perennial stream to that which entered Egypt at

the Cataracts of Assūan. He "took away" the reproach of barrenness (Gen. xxx, 23, 24) from the country, in which, for the last twelve centuries, he has been paid the heroic honours due to that "el-Azīz," "the mighty one," who, by his wise conciliation of the forces of nature, governed the Nile by the aid of the Fayoum depression, and raised to social order the semi-independent nomads of the Delta.

Whether the records are trustworthy as strict history, or there has been personification of a science, an epoch, or a race, is beside the question. It is now contended, that there is no foundation for the claim which I make to disallow my own originality. The whole drama, the Labyrinth and Pyramids, the Fayoum and the Sphinx, the Hyksos and Goshen, the Bahr Jūsuf and the Prophecy of Jacob, the Raiyan Gate of Paradise and the Raiyan Canal, the Blessings and the Plagues, the scene and the actors, are, nevertheless, the direct outcome of the abstract research to which Lord Cromer alluded, verified by careful study of the region in which the events took their rise. The occurrences may be mythical in their legendary presentment. Apion denied that there had been an Exodus; but Josephus correctly cited Manetho, whether he, thereby, strengthened or weakened his case. It was clearly my duty to disclaim, at the outset, that a vision of prosperity, with a Delta cultivated to the Mediterranean, Cairo a sea-port, and modern inventions utilising the flood-force of the Nile, was so wholly mine, that never, from the foundation of Egyptian society under Menes, had it occurred to anyone what a simple means existed of doubling the wealth of the country. By retracing ancient lines, deciphering obscure records, a scheme presented itself which considered even Greek mythology, as did Herodotus, to be fertile in historical result. **ΛΙΜΝΗ ΧΑΡΟΝΤΟΣ** is the Birket el-Oerūn on Greek mediæval maps, even if Phlegethon had no prototype in the Libyan desert, or the statue of the Nile in the Vatican does not include a reference to the Horn of Plenty, a few miles from the Sphinx.

It is said by an Arab writer, that Joseph could never have completed his reclamation of the Fayoum had it not been for Divine aid. The Angel Gabriel with the tip of the pinion of his wing dug deep the channel midway between Assiout and el-Lahun. The proof of the miracle was thought to lie in the fact that, the water never failed in this section, even when there was none entering the artificial intake. It does not imply a belief in the historical accuracy of the narrative

to quote it, in order to show that the channel was known to be partly the work of nature. "The Fayoum was badly supplied with water in 1889, the springs in the Bahr Jūsuf having partially failed from the drought of 1888," (Report, Department of Irrigation for 1889, Cairo, 1890, p. 31). Similar springs must have existed when the tradition of the Demiurge Gabriel was reduced to writing. It would have been unfair to suppress the legend and cite the fact. So with this Raiyān-Moeris; if claim were made for the originality of a discovery, which had been only re-discovered, there might be room for animadversion, but it is a novel incident in literary controversy that blame should be imputed, because genuine documents were correctly cited in these Proceedings in 1882-3-5, which have had the undoubted effect of turning the attention of scholars, statesmen, and engineers to the past, as well as future, of the Fayoum. It was said in 1883, that I "discovered everything in the Fayoum" (Academy). It seems to me that no discredit can now attach to any impulse that I may have given to research, by pointing to the sources of knowledge, to which I gratefully attributed the little that I had done, in the hope that others, who would prove themselves more competent, might profit by drinking more deeply from the fount which, duly filtered, furnished me with many a wholesome draught.

# Demosthenes against Meidias.

In April 1887, several fragments of papyri were obtained by me in Medinet el-Fayoum, which came, I was informed, and believe, from the ruins of a town, visited several times by me, and especially in 1887, on the expedition in which Captain Surtees was detailed to accompany me. Up to that time no one had examined it, although its traditional origin is from an ante-Hyksos date. In 1887, I pressed upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of sedulously guarding the priceless treasures of the Fayoum from rapine. Assuming that Egypt was now passing through a transition stage, similar to the Alexandrian-Ptolemaic period, and from similar causes, it was reasonable to suppose that, before A.D. 1900, every monument of ancient prosperity in the Fayoum and its neighbourhood would once more mark a thriving town, a perennial canal, or an important military station. As the capital of Athens, in its latest renaissance, deplores the artistic losses sustained in this century, while the excavations at Pompeii show the utmost care, so the Arsinoïte Nome deserved special protection, from the certainty of renewed prosperity, and the



Col. I.	[PIXC]	кнфісфунеі
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Transcription from a Papyrus Codex of Demosthenes.

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	НУНУЕ	[ICKOTTEIN]
	WANAPE	[CXIKACTAI]
	NCATAFA	[PTOYTOYC]
	YIKYCEI	[номшмо]
	KÖTEKA	[leembele]
	осшие	[IZONOCOP]
	THCKAI	[ZHMIXCX]
	ΕΙΟΥΟΙΤΟ	[YCEKOYCI]
	*WCKXIX	[HXTTHIPBYI]
	m[ex]oyn	TXCTWN
	[XX]XWC	TTWCEEX
	[MX]PTXN	[ONTWN]

Transcription from a Papyrus Codex of Demosthenes.



ease with which graveyards are now rifled, and papyri, especially, scattered or destroyed.

This specimen of exceptional calligraphy is part of the Oration of Demosthenes against, Meidias (p. 527); the only codex thus far recovered older than the Xth century. Its publication in fac-simile may possibly lead to the identification of other fragments. It will be remembered, that this is the oration of which some student draughted a syllabus on the back of those farm accounts, now so famous for the Constitution of Athens by Aristotle.

The Society has been indebted to the Royal Geographical Society for the use of the two maps illustrating this Paper.



N.B.—The Plates illustrating Mr. Renouf's translation of the Book of the Dead, and the facsimile of the Papyrus (paper by Mr. Cope Whitehouse), have unfortunately been delayed, owing to the weather; they will be issued with the next number of the Proceedings.

W.H.R.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, on Tuesday, 10th January, 1893, at 8 p.m., when the usual business of the Meeting will be transacted.

The following Paper will be read:-

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*). "The Book of the Dead" (continuation).



#### ERRATUM.

Proceedings, Vol. XIV (June), page 421, line 9, for 1 read 10.

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The request having been made by a number of friends that this translation, &c., should be issued in a different form, so as to be a separate book, and Mr. Renouf having kindly consented, it is proposed to issue a limited number of copies upon large paper, in numbers, at 5s. each. Members desirous of obtaining copies should at once communicate with the Secretary.

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# **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

# VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

Third Meeting, January 10th, 1893.

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1893.

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# **PROCEEDINGS**

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# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

# SPECIAL NOTICE.

Members are reminded that their Subscriptions are due on the 1st of January, and are requested to pay them to Messrs. Lloyd's Bank, 54, St. James's Street, S.W.

New York. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author:—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Notices of Books from the Jahrb. d. Ver. v. alterthumsfr. im Rheinl, XCII. 8vo. 1892.

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[No. cxII.]

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# **PROCEEDINGS**

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TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

Third Meeting, 10th January, 1893.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President,
IN the Chair.

The President referred to the loss the Society had suffered by the death of the Venerable James Augustus Hessey, D.C.L., D.D., Archdeacon of Middlesex, and a Vice-President of the Society. Dr. Hessey was born in 1814, and died on the 24th of December, 1892. He was elected a member of the Society on the 3rd of December, 1889, and although none of his writings have appeared in the publications, he took a warm interest in the deliberations of the Society.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Charles E. Moldenke, A.M., Ph.D. The New York Obelisk Cleopatra's Needle, with a preliminary sketch of the history, erection, uses, and signification of obelisks. New York. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author:—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Notices of Books from the Jahrb. d. Ver. v. alterthumsfr. im Rheinl, XCII. 8vo. 1892.

[No. cxII.]

From Dr. Wiedemann:—Der byzantinische Purpurstoff im Gewerbe-Museum zu Düsseldorf von Heinrich Frauberger.

Jahrb. d. Ver. v. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl, XCIII. 8vo. 1892. From the Society:—La Stèle funéraire du Teghin Giogh, et ses copistes et traducteurs chinois, russes et allemands. Par Prof.

G. Schlegel. Helsingissä. 8vo. 1892.

From the Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, III.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 6th December, 1892, and elected Members of the Society:—

Elijah Coffin, 222, Gresham House, E.C.

Charles Stanley Hopkins, 6, Peel Terrace, Gosport, Hants.

Count Riano d'Hulst, Cairo, Egypt.

George Margoliouth, B.A., British Museum, W.C.

Rev. Joseph Henry Sutton Moxly, B.A., The Firs, Brentwood, Essex.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 7th February, 1893:—

Rev. Walter William Crump, B.A., Marlborough House, Cottenham, Cambridge.

Rev. A. W. Greenup, Leighton Bromeswold, W. Huntingdon.

Rev. Owen J. Jones, The Old Meeting Parsonage, West Hill, Mansfield, Notts.

Rev. Charles Lerebourg, Vicaire de Saint Philippe du Roule, 164, Faubourg Saint Honoré, Paris.

Miss Agnes L. Money, Stodham Park, East Liss, Hants.

Henry Spicer, B.A. (Lond.), F.L.S., F.G.S., 14, Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Remarks were added by Miss Ingram, the Rev. A. Löwy, the Rev. C. J. Ball, the Rev. Dr. Gaster, W. G. Thorpe, W. J. Haywood, and the President.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

# SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1892.

Notwithstanding the loss suffered by the Society during the year 1892 through death and other causes, it is satisfactory to be able to state that with the assistance of the Members the number on the Roll has been fairly maintained. I hope, however, that during the year 1803 there will be a further effort, and when the annual Report is presented at the end of that year, it will be possible to state that our list of Members has very considerably increased. Year after year I repeat the request, and it is only surprising that, if only in self-interest, so many of the Members remain perfectly passive, and really do nothing. As is nearly always the case, the labour rests on the few, who, possessing a true interest in the Society, exert every endeavour in their power for its advancement and welfare. The Society, it must never be forgotten, is by no means restricted to the particular studies of Egyptology and Assyriology. It has published many communications upon other subjects embraced in the general title of Biblical Archæology, and the Council are quite prepared and always willing, within limits, to extend the radius of operations. To do this satisfactorily we must receive the assistance and cooperation of those interested in the other subjects included in our studies, and I can only express the hope that this assistance and cooperation will be freely given during the coming year.

The twenty-second session of the Society commenced on the 3rd of November, 1891, and was completed in June, 1892. During this period a number of papers have been submitted to the Society, which may fairly be said to have equalled both in value and interest those received during former years.

In my last Report mention was made of the proposed translation with commentary by our President, of the Egyptian Book of the Dead. This most valuable work is, as the readers of our *Proceedings* are aware, well advanced. I cannot help feeling that it is a subject of great congratulation that MR. RENOUF has thus given to our Society the result of many years' careful examination and study; and has enabled us to issue his translation of the Book of the Dead, with his commentary and notes. The labour entailed few will ever realize, and the advantages which will come to the Society from its publication it would be difficult to judge, as also how greatly it will increase the value of our *Proceedings* to scholars.

Having been requested, by a number of friends, MR. RENOUF very kindly consented to allow a separate large paper edition to be published,

9I H 2

in order that those persons wishing to do so might be enabled to possess this valuable work in the form of a separate book. Only a limited number of copies will be issued, and I am happy to be able to state that the first part, Chapters I to XIV, with illustrations of the vignettes, is in the press, and will be ready for issue very shortly.

Commencing with a few preliminary notes, in the December (1891) number of the *Proceedings*, Mr. Renouf added further remarks in May, 1892, on the meanings of certain primitive Egyptian words. In March appeared Chapter I; in April, Chapters II to XIV; in May, Chapters XV and XVI; in June, Chapter XVII; in November, Chapters XVIII to XX; and in December, Chapters XXI to XXV.

In opening the Twenty-third Session (1892-3), at the Meeting in November, the President offered some remarks on certain subjects discussed in the year just elapsed, which were of special interest to the Society. These remarks embraced the question of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, which appeared in December; the relations between the old Egyptian and the Semitic languages, and the relations between the Chinese language and the Accadian or Sumerian. These will appear in a future Number.

Besides the above invaluable series, the Society has been indebted to MR. RENOUF for other communications. In January, he called attention to a difficult passage in the Pyramid Text of King Teta. In June, there appeared a very interesting communication entitled, A Second Note on the Royal Title 25, the first having been printed in the previous January.

Also in February, in a paper entitled An Ambassador Royal of Rameses the Great, MR. RENOUF describes an inscribed seated statue dug up in the neighbourhood of Norwood. It is supposed that, having originally been an ornament in the garden, it, from lapse of time, gradually became covered with earth, and was thus lost sight of.

A very exhaustive paper from the pen of one of the Honorary Members, PROFESSOR E. REVILLOUT, will be found in the *Proceedings* for January and March, the first part having appeared in December, 1891. In it, the author gives besides a translation of the Bilingual Papyrus written in Demotic and Greek, preserved in the British Museum, a very careful and valuable analysis of its contents.

A note upon this papyrus by Professor Dr. E. EISENLOHR appeared in the *Proceedings* for April.

PROFESSOR KARL PIEHL (Honorary Member), in January and November, continued his Notes on Egyptian Philology, and Professor Maspero (Honorary Member), in February and April, carried forward his Notes from Day to Day upon Egyptology (Part IV). VICTOR LORET, in his paper on the Title Ahems-n-kip, added his own notes on the same subject, already treated by Professor E. Lefébure (Proceedings, Vol XIII, June, 1891). Dr. Gladstone in March supplied further

interesting information on Metallic Copper, Tin and Antimony from Upper Egypt, in continuation of his paper printed in the *Proceedings* of March, 1890 (Vol. XII). Remarks were added by Professor Roberts-Austen.

In the same Part (March) F. L. GRIFFITH discussed on the Egyptian year, to which the President added a note. Again, in April the same writer described, and illustrated, an interesting cup bearing an Hieratic inscription. This was followed in June by two valuable papers on Egyptian Weights and Measures, and an account of a number of fragments of papyrus giving the fragments of the Egyptian tales—The Story of Sanehat, The Story of Sekhti, and The Dialogue between a Man and a Ghost. This paper was illustrated with nine plates. In June also MR. GRIFFITH, in a notice of DR. PETRIE'S new book on Meidûm, added some interesting notes upon the paintings in Egyptian tombs.

To Dr. Wiedemann (Honorary Member) the Society has been indebted, as in former years, for several communications of interest. In April, he describes some Egyptian inscriptions in the Musée Guimet, at Paris, and again in June, added a note on Dr. Young's interpretation of Hieroglyphics.

The last paper, following the order I have usually pursued, is that by JOSEPH OFFORD, junr. on Isis and Osiris, printed in May.

Of papers dealing with Assyriology the number has not been so great as in former years, but they have been of more general interest than the publication of untranslated texts. In January, the Hon. Miss Plunkett advanced a theory with reference to the Accadian Calendar. In the same part appeared the text, followed in February by the translation, by the Rev. Charles James Ball, of a Babylonian Deed of Sale, containing points of interest. In February, also, was printed a valuable paper by the same writer, entitled Glimpses of Babylonian Religion. This paper, which contained notes upon Human Sacrifice, and the Gods and their Images, was illustrated by a number of unpublished cylinder seals.

MR. BALL in November called attention to his conclusion that the Egyptian language is akin to, and younger than, the Accadian. In it will be found several very remarkable instances of the correspondence of words in the two languages which point clearly to the connexion. His translation (November) of a difficult Bilingual Hymn, will be studied with interest. In April, ROBERT BROWN, junr., continued his Euphratean Stellar Researches, and Theo. G. PINCHES in a short note on Ya and Yawa, in November, supplied some additions to our knowledge of this interesting subject.

In the same Part (November) the Rev. A. J. Delattre, S.J., continued his very valuable series of papers on the Letters of Tell el Amarna, and I am happy to be able to report that other papers by him on the same subject will be published during the present session.

Of papers dealing with other and more general subjects I may mention the communication from W. Francis Ainsworth, on Masons' Marks at Al-Hadhr, or Hatra, which appeared in May. Also the second note from Prof. Dr. Eisenlohr, on a Phoenician Monument at the frontier of Palestine, illustrated by a facsimile of his own sketch.

To W. E. CRUM we have been indebted for the text with translation and notes on another fragment of the story of Alexander, preserved in the British Museum. This Coptic MS. adds to the text preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale already published by M. Bouriant in the *Journal asiatique*.

Illustrated papers by F. COPE WHITEHOUSE, entitled the Raiyān-Moeris and the Ptolemaic Maps, together with a note on a fragment of the Oration of Demosthenes against Meidias, appeared in the December number of the *Proceedings*.

In my last Report I mentioned that the Council had made arrangements for the issue of the second part of Volume IX of the *Transactions*, thus completing that series of our publications. This would have appeared during the past year, but for my own inability to carry on the necessary work, owing to the confusion and labour caused by removing the library and effects of the Society to its new house. I am happy to be able to state, however, that the publication of the Part will not much longer be delayed.

Before passing on to the other portions of my Report, I may well at this point say something about the removal of the Offices and Library. Since its foundation the Society has occupied a somewhat anomalous position. It is a large body of men possessing a library of considerable value, a small collection of antiquities, and other objects of interest, but really holding no position in the eyes of the law. Year by year the operations of the Society have increased, and its library has been extended to such an extent that it was difficult to find a suitable home It also appeared absolutely necessary that the Society should follow the example of other similar bodies, and become incorporated. This, I am glad to say, by the kindness of MR. CHARLES HARRISON, a member of the Council, has been effected, and we are now a properly constituted Corporate Institution. The lease of the house at 11, Hart Street, in which the Society occupied rooms, having expired, and the Society's effects having grown too large for the accommodation there given, it became necessary to find another and more permanent home. Fortunately the house, 37, Great Russell Street, was then unoccupied, and the Council considering that it was the most suitable, at all likely to be obtained, again called in the assistance of Mr. Charles Harrison, who so often and so kindly has acted in the interests of the Society, and the house was secured on lease. Necessarily such a step caused very considerable alteration and addition to the furniture and fittings of the

library and offices. The best means of obtaining the necessary funds was considered to be a circular stating what had been done, and what was required. In June last a copy of the circular giving full information was sent to every Member of the Society, which has resulted in subscriptions from several of the Members. In a future number of the *Proceedings*, the list of subscriptions will be published, and it is to be hoped that there will be no difficulty in obtaining the amount required to properly complete the necessary alterations.

It is more than desirable that the ordinary funds of the Society should not be drawn upon, and I must therefore urge upon the Members the necessity of at once giving their assistance to so excellent an object.

I have stated that year by year the number of books in the library has increased. During the past year, besides the Journals received in exchange from kindred institutions, the list of which has been increased, many authors and kind friends have added to the completeness of the library. In each number of the *Proceedings* have been acknowledged, and on the last leaf will be found a list of books more particularly required for the use of students; it is to be hoped that, month by month, some book or books may be removed from this list, and our library may thus become more and more perfect in the different departments.

We have received several valuable gifts during the past year, of which I may particularly mention the copy of Rosellini presented by Mr. Ernst de Bunsen. Besides being a work much required, it possesses a peculiar value and interest to the Members, being the copy formerly belonging to his father the late Baron de Bunsen.

The audited Balance Sheet annexed shows that the funds available for the year 1892 have been £508 10s. 5d., and the expenditure in the like period £470 4s. 5d. The balance carried forward to the current year 1893 is £38 6s. od.

W. HARRY RYLANDS,

Secretary.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the President and Secretary for their labours in behalf of the Society during the past year. d.

# SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31sT, 1892.

The statement of the central and described the statement of the statement	61 14 9 Dec. 31. By Expenditure to date, viz.:— "" Frent "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" ""	", Secretary, 1892, on account Official Auditor Postage Housekeeper and Sundries	364 5 2 ,, Fire Insurance Advertising	£508 10 5	38 6 0 Printing, Rent, and Current Expenses, accruing for 1893.  £150 0 0 Audited and found correct, 7th Ianuary, 1893,	W. J. HAYWOOD. THEO. G. PINCHES £123 145. 3d.	37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbory, W.C., January 7th, 1893.
1802.	To Balance in hand  "Subscriptions— For the Year 1892 "Arrears from fo	,, Payments in advance 16 16 0 385 6 2 , Less Subscriptions returned 1 1 0	Sales of Transactions, &c		Jan I. , Balance brought forward ASSETS.  Subscriptions still outstanding for 1892, about Tibrary Furniture and Fffects at 27 Great Russell	Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.  The Transactions and Proceedings in stock, Reserve Fund in 24% Consols	W. HARKY RYLANDS, Secretary.

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected:-

# COUNCIL, 1893.

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#### P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

#### Vice-Presidents.

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THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

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# BOOK OF THE DEAD.

#### By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

# CHAPTER XXVI.

Chapter whereby the Heart (1) is given to a person in the Netherworld.

He saith: Heart \* mine to me, in the place of Hearts! Whole Heart † mine to me, in the place of Whole Hearts!

Let me have my Heart that it may rest within me; but (2) I shall feed upon the food of Osiris, on the eastern side of the mead of amaranthine flowers. (3)

Be mine a bark for descending the stream and another for ascending.

I go down into the bark wherein thou art.

Be there given to me my mouth wherewith to speak, and my feet for walking; and let me have my arms wherewith to overthrow my adversaries.

Let two hands from the Earth open my mouth: Let Seb, the Erpā of the gods, part my two jaws; (4) let him open my two eyes which are closed, and give motion to my two hands which are powerless: and let Anubis give vigour to my legs, that I may raise myself up upon them.

And may Sechit the divine one lift me up, so that I may arise in Heaven and issue my behest in Memphis.

I am in possession of my Heart, I am possession of my Whole Heart, I am possession of my arms and I have possession of my legs. (5)

[I do whatsoever my Genius willeth, and my Soul is not bound to my body at the gates of Amenta.]

# Notes.

1. The Egyptian texts have two names for the Heart,  $\nabla$  phonetically written  $\nabla \dot{a}b$ , and  $\nabla \dot{a}b$ , and  $\nabla \dot{a}b$  also written  $\nabla \dot{a}b$ , 'heart.'

mously, but they are sometimes pointedly distinguished one from the other. Etymologically  $\int db$  is connected with the sense of lively motion  $\int db$ , like the Greek καρδία, κραδίη (δία τὸ ἀπαύστως σαλεύεσθαι) with κραδάω and κραδαίνω. Other Indo-European names, our own heart, the Latin cor (cord-is), the Sanskrit hrd, and the corresponding Slavonic and Lithuanian names have the same origin.

From the orthography of \( \frac{1}{\infty} \) it seems to have been connected in popular opinion with its position in the anterior part of the body. And from various uses of the word it appears to denote not merely the heart, but the heart with all that is attached to it, especially the lungs which embrace it. It is for instance to the \( \frac{1}{\infty} \) that \( air \) is conducted according to the medical Papyri. And it is not improbable that \( \frac{1}{\infty} \) and \( \frac{1}{\infty} \) \( \frac{1}{\infty} \) organs of respiration, are closely connected words.

But perhaps the best argument may be found in the Vignettes of chapter 28, where the two lungs are actually drawn as in the hieratic papyrus (Pl. 2) published by Sir Charles Nicholson. In others (as Leyden, T. 16) even the larynx is visible. (See Plate.)

The Italian word *corata* is immortalised through its occurrence in a memorable passage in Dante (*Inf.*, XXVIII), but for want of a better English term than the butcher's technical word *pluck* † I use the expression *whole heart*.

2. But, \( \bigcap \) \( \bigcap \). This is the most frequent reading both in the earliest and in the latest papyri. But some texts have simply \( \bigcap \), which is certainly a mistake, and others omit the conjunction before the verb. The sense is not much affected by this omission. \( \bigcap \) \( \bigcap \) \( \bigcap \) signifies if not, unless, until, but, but surely. Cf. the Semitic \( \bigcap \bigcap \), \( \bigcap \bigcap

<sup>\*</sup> This variant already occurs on the coffin of Amamu.

<sup>†</sup> In late Latin corallum, whence the Romanic forms corajhe, corata, coratella, corée, couraille. In Garin le Loherens we find "la coraille del cuers."

- is the name of a plant which frequently occurs in the medical prescriptions. It is also mentioned among the aromatic plants ( ) required in the sacred laboratory of Dendera. One of the kinds is named kaiu of the Oasis . It is identified with the Coptic KIOWY, amaranthus. In several copies of this chapter the name of the plant is followed by the geographical determinative , which is really implied in the context. Was this mythological 'mead of amaranth' suggested by the Oasis and its vegetation?
- 4. This sentence is a repetition (in other words) of the preceding one. On the title  $Erp\bar{a}$ , see Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., XII, 359. My chief difficulty about understanding it as compounded of and  $\Box$  and signifying keeper of the  $P\bar{a}t$ , that is of the deceased (human beings), is that Seb is essentially the  $Erp\bar{a}$  of the gods.  $Erp\bar{a}$  is one of those titles which cannot be translated without perverting the sense of the original.
- 5. This passage is a very frequent formula not only in the Book of the Dead, as the papyri give it, but in other texts of the same nature; see, e.g., Aelleste Texte, 34, 14. The next passage included in [] is an addition to the original text. It occurs however in some excellent MSS.

#### CHAPTER XXVII.

Chapter whereby the Heart of a person is not taken from him in the Netherworld.

O ye gods who seize upon Hearts, and who pluck out the Whole Heart; and whose hands fashion anew the Heart of a person according to what he hath done; lo now, let that be forgiven to him by you. (1)

Hail to you, O ye Lords of Everlasting Time and Eternity!

Let not my Heart be torn from me by your fingers.

Let not my Heart be fashioned anew according to all the evil things said against me.

For this Heart of mine is the Heart of the god of mighty names, (2) of the great god whose words are in his members, and who giveth free course to his Heart which is within him.

And most keen of insight (3) is his Heart among the gods. Ho to me! Heart of mine; I am in possession of thee, I am thy master, and thou art by me; fall not away from me; I am the dictator to whom thou shalt obey in the Netherworld.

# NOTES.

- I. There is a great difference here as in so many other places between the MSS. of different periods. I long ago translated the wobis, M. de Rougé, after me, by non renuatur a vobis. But M. Naville pointed out the fact that in some of the oldest MSS. the particle did not occur. It now appears that the particle is not found in any of the older MSS., and I have also found it omitted in hieratic papyri. The passage therefore must be translated differently, and this is possible through a slight change in the interpretation of from ignorare to ignoscere; ignoscatur illi a vobis. The pronoun which in the older texts follows refers to 'what he hath done' of the last clause.
- 2. The god of mighty names is Thoth, and the later texts read "For this is the Heart of the great god who is in Hermopolis."

3. ° S . According to another reading mew, fresh, young, vigorous.

# CHAPTER XXVIII.

Chapter whereby the Heart of a person is not taken from him in the Netherworld.

O Lion-god!

I am Unbu, (1) and what I abominate is the block of execution. Let not this Whole Heart of mine be torn from me by the divine Champions (2) in Heliopolis!

O thou who clothest (3) Osiris and hast seen Sutu:

O thou who turnest back after having smitten him, and hast accomplished the overthrow.

This Whole Heart of mine remaineth weeping over itself in presence of Osiris.

Its strength proceedeth from him, it hath obtained it by prayer from him.

I have had granted to it and awarded to it the glow of heart at the hour of the god of the Broad Face, and have offered the sacrificial cakes in Hermopolis.

Let not this Whole Heart of mine be torn from me. (4) It is I who entrust to you its place, and vehemently stir your Whole Hearts towards it in Sechit-hotepit and the years of triumph over all that it abhors and taking all provisions at thine appointed time from thine hand after thee.

And this Whole Heart of mine is laid upon the tablets (5) of Tmu, who guideth me to the caverns of Sutu and who giveth me back my Whole Heart which hath accomplished its desire in presence of the divine Circle which is in the Netherworld.

The sacrificial joint and the funereal raiment, let those who find them bury them. (6)

# Notes.

- the offspring (Todt., 42, 19) of Nu and Nut. As a common noun the word unbu means the Hawthorn or some other kind of flowering bush. This god is called the first (Teta 39). We have no means of determining the exact sense of this word, which as an appellative expresses an attribute possessed both by the Sun and by the fruit, foliage, or other parts of the tree.
- 2. Divine Champions. in the later; and sometimes both readings occur in the same MS. Such determinatives as certainly do not denote very pugnacious qualities in the divine Champions.
- 3. Clothest. is a word of many meanings, and the context generally determines which is the right one. In the present instance we have no such help. Some of the more recent MSS. give , the determinative of clothing. One of the meanings of the word is undo, let loose, but this undoing probably implies destruction; which cannot be meant here.

4. M. Pierret here breaks off his translation of the chapter, with the note: "La fin de ce chapitre est absolument inintelligible; les variantes des manuscrits hiératiques ne l'éclaircissent pas."

Like many other portions of the book this chapter is hopelessly corrupt, and the scribes did not understand it better than we do. They have probably mixed up different recensions without regard to grammatical sense. The deceased addresses gods in the plural plu

5. Tablets or records. To be a line. See Zeitschr., 1867, 50. The word already occurs in the Pyramid Texts, Pepi I, 364, in the sense of memory, his memory for man and his love for the gods.'

#### CHAPTER XXIX.

Chapter whereby the Heart of a person may not be taken from him in the Netherworld.

Back thou Messenger (1) of thy god! Art thou come to carry off by violence (2) this Whole Heart of mine, of the Living. (3) But I shall not surrender to thee this Heart of the Living. The gods have regards to my offerings and fall upon their faces, all together, upon their own earth.

#### Notes.

The two most ancient copies of this chapter are found upon the coffins of Amamu, Plate XXX, and of Horhotep, Mission Arch. Française au Caire, t. 1, p. 157, lines 335-337. The papyrus of Ani is the only one of the early period in which it occurs. None of these texts is perfect. A part of the text of Amamu has been destroyed, but there remains enough to show that Horhotep has omissions. And in the text of Ani the word has slipped in from the 28th chapter, and is entirely out of place where it now stands.

The scribes of a later period had to exercise their ingenuity on the subject. They changed henù, and this being itself a disagreeable word, they prefixed to it a negative or the scribes of a later period had to exercise their ingenuity on the subject.

- 3. The Living This plural form is a mere sign of a common noun.

## CHAPTER XXIXB.

# Another Chapter of the Heart; upon Carnelian.

I am the Heron, the Soul of Râ, who conduct the Glorious ones to the Tuat.

It is granted to their Souls to come forth upon the Earth to do whatsoever their Genius willeth.

It is granted to the soul of the Osiris N to come forth upon the Earth to do whatsoever his Genius willeth.

#### NOTE.

Certain chapters having reference to the Heart were written upon gems\* and served as amulets, the 26th upon Lapis-lazuli, the

<sup>\*</sup> See a charming article by Professor Ebers in the Zeitschrift of 1880, entitled "Einige inedita."

27th upon green Felspar, the 30th upon Serpentine, and the foregoing chapter upon Carnelian.

M. Naville has called this chapter 29B, as marking its natural place in the Book of the Dead. It is not often found in the Papyri. M. Naville found one copy in the Berlin Papyrus of Nechtuamen, and another traced by Lepsius in Rome from a papyrus now lost. A third copy will be found in the papyrus of Ani\* in the British Museum. It differs from the two others in "conducting the gods to the Tuat," and by omitting some words for which there was no room in the space provided.

#### CHAPTER XXXA.

Chapter whereby the Heart of a person is not kept back from him in the Netherworld.

Heart mine which is that of my Mother,

Whole Heart mine which was that of my coming upon Earth,

Let there be no estoppel against me through evidence; let not hindrance be made to be by the Divine Circle; (1) let there not be a fall of the scale (2) against me in presence of the great god, Lord of Amenta.

Hail to thee, Heart mine; Hail to thee, Whole Heart mine, Hail to thee, Liver (3) mine!

Hail to you, ye gods who are on the side lock, conspicuous by your sceptres, (4) announce my glory to Râ and convey it to Nehabkau.

[And lo, though he be buried in the deep deep Grave, and bowed down to the region of annihilation, he is glorified there. (5)]

### CHAPTER XXXB.

Heart mine which is that of my Mother,

Whole Heart mine which is that of my birth

Let there be no estoppel against me through evidence, let no hindrance be made to me by the divine Circle; fall thou not against me in presence of him who is at the Balance.

Thou art my Genius, who art by me, the Artist (6) who givest soundness to my limbs.

Come forth (7) to the bliss † towards which we are bound;

Let not those Ministrants (8) who deal with a man according to the course of his life (9) give a bad odour to my name.

Pleasant for us, pleasant for the listener, is the joy of the Weighing of the Words.

Let not lies be uttered in presence of the great god, Lord of the Amenta.

Lo! how great art thou [as the Triumphant one (10).]

#### Notes.

This chapter is found not only on papyri but upon innumerable scarabs. The differences of text are very great, but the principal ones may be considered as represented by M. Naville's 30A and 30B. They branch off from each other after the mention of the Balance.

The oldest copy known on a scarab is that of King Sebak-em-saf of the XIIIth dynasty. It is in the British Museum (No. 7876) and has been described by Dr. Birch in his study\* of the "Formulas relating to the heart." "This amulet," he says, "is of unusual shape; the body of the insect is made of a remarkably fine green jasper carved in shape of the body and head of the insect. This is inserted into a base of gold in shape of a tablet . . . . The legs of the insect are . . . . of gold and carved in relief . . . . The hieroglyphs are incised in outline, are coarse, and not very legible."

- I. The Divine Circle,  $\begin{bmatrix} & & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & & \end{bmatrix}$ . This word on the scarab of Sebak-em-saf is written  $\begin{bmatrix} & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ \end{bmatrix}$ , which shows that  $\longmapsto$  (a wall of enclosure) is ideographic of the whole word. And this sign in hieratic, when placed upright  $\begin{bmatrix} & & & \\ & & & \\ \end{bmatrix}$ , has given rise to the  $\begin{bmatrix} & & \\ & & \\ \end{bmatrix}$ , which takes its place in the later texts.
- 2. Fall of the scale, Δ = the Coptic piki normalist or the Greek ροπή τοῦ ζυγοῦ.
  - 3. Liver; This seems to be the real meaning of  $\sqrt[n]{6}$ .
- 4. These gods are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts in a passage closely resembling this one of the Book of the Dead. "They bring to Unas (line 479) the four Glorious ones who are on the side lock of Horus; who stand upon the Eastern side of Heaven, and who

The word appears to have the sense of *insignire*, designare. This sense is a key to every passage in which the word occurs.

- 5. The few early copies of this paragraph are too fragmentary and too contradictory to furnish a restoration of the text, which must have meant something like what is expressed in this translation.
- 6. The Artist, \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) which is here a common noun rather than a proper name.
- 7. The deceased addresses his heart, and thereupon speaks in the first person plural, we; that is you and I.
- 8. The Ministrants. The Q were high officials in the Egyptian court, but here they minister to Osiris in the Netherworld. They are apparently the same gods who are addressed in the 27th Chapter as fashioning the heart of a person according to his deeds when living.
- 9. The determinative  $\odot$  shows that  $\frac{1}{2}$  is here to be taken in the sense of the duration of human life, and the pronominal suffixes  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$  show whose life is spoken of. The latter suffix has reference to  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$ , which is accordingly to be translated in the singular. The plural sign merely indicates a common or collective noun.
- 10. As the Triumphant one. So Aa, the papyrus of Nebseni. Another authority (B.M. 7865) quoted by Dr. Birch has \_\_\_\_\_\_l like Râ, the Triumphant One.

The formula "How great art thou"! occurs in other primitive texts; cf. Aelteste Texte, Pl. 5, lines 7 and 8. In line 8 it occurs twice.

# GIŠGALLA-KI—BABYLON. KI-NU-NIR-KI—BORSIPPA.

# DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Every Assyriologist must congratulate you and the whole Society of Biblical Archæology, on the important discovery of Rev. C. J. BALL in your last number. I refer here not only to the happy explanation of the ideogram **EYYYEY** gur, gil, vil, il, "to lift up," and its identification with the Egyptian  $\Re fa$  (wa), but above all to the analysis of 4 R. 46, 15/6, where we find \ Y - Y<\ > ≥ Y gišgal-la, "door," as a name of Babylon; upon which Rev. C. J. BALL remarks: "it recalls Ka-dingirra, Gate of God; cp. Ur-Bau, col. II, 2, Gišgalla-ki (AMIAUD)." To the other identification, in the same line of the quoted text, Ki-in-nir = Borsippa, Rev. C. J. Ball adds only "Place (ki") of the Tower (nir) was a suitable name for Borsippa, the site of the Birs Nimrud; kin-nir resembles kin-gi, kin-dir," etc.

Now, not the late AMIAUD but myself was the first who identified the town , so often mentioned in the inscriptions of Tello, with the Assyrian >= YYY, explained in the great Syllabary Sb, line 267, by gi-iš-gal = manzazu, "dwelling-place" (Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, p. 314, in the 2nd livraison, which appeared August, 1886, half a year before Amiaud's Tableau Comparé). No doubt that in all places where we meet this > [ ] ( ] [ (or only ►►!) ([E]), we have to read Gišgalla-ki and to understand Babylon. This is at the same time of higher historical importance than we may imagine at first sight.

But also Ball's Ki-in-nir = Borsippa I can identify with an old town of the Tello inscriptions. We read in the last line of Ur-bau "To the goddess Du-zi-zuab, lady of Ki-nu-nir-ki, he has built the house (temple) of her town Gisgalla-ki." It cannot be by accident that we read here in the same line Gisgalla-ki and Ki-nu-nir-ki, and in the text translated by Rev. C. J. BALL, Giš-gal-la (Babel) and Ki-in-nir (Borsippa), also in the same line.

We understand now why Nebukadrezzar employs the ideogram >= | (YE) specially for Babylon (see the instances in Delitzsch's

Wörterbuch, p. 6). As a cosmical term, → II (E) means the southern part of the heavenly abyss, beyond the horizon, which was called otherwise šílu, šílân (see my "Astronomy of the Chaldeans," Ausland, 1892, and for the etymology of šílu (ביאול), Jensen, Zeitschr. für Assyr., V, p. 131.\* Therefore the synonyms of - !! (1): viz., Kabara-ki ("tomb, sepulchre"), Nukar-ki ("town of enemy"), Kaniš-ki ("town of the subduer"), Malak-ki ("town of decision")-Babyl. Geschichte, p. 399, note 4-are all names of the underworld or School, and the south wind (šútu) is called &- gišgal-lu (or perhaps better gišgul-lu). In the translation of Kabara-ki, Nukar-ki, etc., šú Gišgulla-ki (the same as Gišgalla-ki), Prof. Delitzsch saw the Babylonian equivalent of School, šú-alu(-ki). It is certain that here we really have a name of Scheol, if not also the name Scheol itself; but I think it not impossible that the tablet-writer intended by the prefix shú a kind of rebus, so that instead of the common reading šu Gišgalla-ki he gave also the possibility of reading Shu-alu(-ki); šu'âlu then, an older form of šîlu.

Let us now see what *rôle* the newly discovered town played in the time before Hammurabi and his dynasty gave it the name and the rank of the Babel as it is known to us.

In the first place, I give as a mere hypothesis that the title šar ali, "king of the town," in the name of Sar-gani-šar-ali and his son Bingani-šar-ali of Agade, is the same as šar  $\rightarrow \text{TM}$  (E); only the determinative ideogram -ki is left out, and  $\rightarrow \text{TM}$  is put (as in other cases) for the fuller  $\rightarrow \text{TM}$ .

In the inscriptions of the grandson of Ur-ghanna, the king or patesi *E-anna-du*, are mentioned not only the towns Ur (communication of Mr. Heuzey), *Giš-ban-ki*, Uruk (the latter, *Découvertes*, pl. 31, 2, col. 5), but also, immediately after Uruk, our *Gišgalla-ki* 

<sup>\*</sup> Notwithstanding, Jensen translates sillan still by "west" (instead of south"). In my quoted articles I proved that citan is the culminating point of the sun in the north, and shilan the other (unseen for us) in the south.

and another town, Az-ki, which I identify with Azu, commonly known as "Azu of the elephants" ( $Azu-pir\hat{a}ni$ ).

If we go on, we find in the inscription of a somewhat younger patesi of Sirgulla (*Revue d'Assyr.*, II, 4, p. 148), *En-timinna* (-II), the phrase: "To the god *Lugal-Gišgalla-ki* ("king of Gišgalla" or Babel) I built the palace (e-gal) of his town Gišgalla."

For Ur-Bau, patesi of Sirgulla, see above; Gudea mentions "Du-zi-zuab, lady of *Ki-nu-nir-ki*" (Borsippa) as "his goddess," so that we may conclude this mighty prince possessed also Babel and Borsippa.\*

Some centuries before Hammurabi, the king Sin-idinâ of Larsa built a canal from Larsa to Gišgalla-ki (*Geschichte*, p. 351), and Iri-Aku (Rim-Sin),† before his overthrow by Hammurabi, "rebuilt *Gišgalla-ki* of the goddess Ma-sig-dug" (4 R. 35, No. 6; *Geschichte*, p. 359)—a striking illustration at the same time for the vassalship of Amraphel to Larsa in the days of Ariokh (Gen. xiv). A few years afterwards Hammurabi overthrew his former patron and rebuilt the temples of Larsa.

Finally, I will draw attention to a cylinder-seal, published in E. de Sarzec's *Découvertes*, pl. 30 bis, No. 21, where we read (in old Babylonian characters):—

# 判((2)) | 本本 | 注((1)) ((1)) ((1))

i.e., E. Kı-rapal-tu (or -rapaštu), king of Gishgalla-ki. Who can help thinking of Kimtu-rapaštu, the other name of Hammu-rabi, though we have not yet direct proof that i-ki (or i-di?) == kimtu or ghammu? And is not a form Hammu-rapal(tu) the prototype of the Hebrew transcription (LXX: ' $\Lambda \mu a \rho \pi a \lambda$ )? In this case -rabi (also in other proper names, as Samas-rabi, Sin-rabi, etc.), would be a mere ideograph for rapiš, rapaštu, rapattu; compare 5 R. 73 e (rag) = rapāšu, and the possibility of reading ra-bi as ra-gaš.

PROF. DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.

MUNICH, December 19th, 1892.

<sup>\*</sup> The Semitic translation of Ki-nu-nir we find in Nuh ša sallu ("Streites-ruhe"), Delitzsch, Paradies, p. 216.

<sup>†</sup> King of Larsa.

# THE IDEOGRAM ENTY.

## By Prof. Dr. Fritz Hommel.

The linear form of this ideogram, which is explained in Sb 238 by Sumerian dubbi-sag (i.e., dubbi-sag for dubbi-sar), Babylonian dupšarru, "writer," and otherwise by alal, ilal (naṣâbu ša kane), is Now, we have in Egyptian an ideogram of the same signification, "writer" (sah, sas even in the Pyramid texts, the same words as Sumerian sar, sag, "to write") which represents the writing-utensils of the scribes (ink-vessel, kalam, palette). Both ideograms are the same, not only as a whole, but also in the slightest details; = is 0, ### is a linear contraction of 0, and the upright wedge at the side is the \(\frac{1}{2}\) (kalam) of the Egyptian hieroglyph. In the fifth chapter of my book The Babylonian Origin of the Egyptian Civilisation,\* I have given thirty-four instances of identical Babylonian and Egyptian signs, to which I can add now some ten  $\star$  du'at "(heavenly) abyss," and  $\frac{1}{1}$  "to live" =  $\frac{0}{1}$ , "to live," were identified even in 1890 by Rev. C. J. BALL in these Proceedings. Not yet noticed in my Ursprung are:-

35. The above named ideogram for "writer."

39. "hill" (Sumerian 
$$dul$$
,  $du$ , originally  $\bigcap$  Egypt.  $\triangle du$ , "mountain."

<sup>\*</sup> Der Babyl. Ursprung der Aegyptischen Kultur, 68 pages in 4°, Munich (Franz), 1892.

<sup>†</sup> The Babylonian figure gives the side view, the Egyptian the front view.

That in Egyptian, besides the pure Semitic grammar and syntax, there existed a great number of Sumerian borrowed words, and these in most cases in the younger Neo-Sumerian form, I have pointed out in several places of my above quoted book. This fact, so important for the *Babylonian* origin of the two eldest civilisations of the Euphrates and Nile valleys, is corroborated by several new instances given by Rev. C. J. Ball in the last number of the *Proceedings*, of which the most striking is the Egyptian m s dr (Turkish ešet-mek, "to hear"), Neo-Sumerian m u s du g, "ear," (Turkish ešet-mek, "to hear"), of which the old Sumerian form was g i s du g. The Berber amezzug, "ear," stands in the midst between m u s du g and m s d r (the latter in the Pyramid texts with l s s d r, not with l s s d r or with l s d r or l s d r or with l s d r or l s

Concerning the concordance of the Babylonian ideogram for "writer" with the Egyptian  $\bigcap_{i=1}^{n}$ , it may be noticed that Prof. A. H. SAYCE in the *Transactions* of this Society, Vol. I (1872), explained alal = nacabu ša kane ("shaft of a reed") by papyrus, to which he compared also the expression  $rac{1}{r}$  li-hu-si dub = hi'u (with the determinative-prefix  $gi\bar{s}$ , "wood, plant") for tablet.

<sup>\*</sup> Comp. the agricultural t.t. ki-lamma, and ussubu, "to make grow."

<sup>+</sup> The first thirty-four instances are given in my Der Babyl. Ursprung der Aegyptischen Kultur, pp. 61-63.

# COBALT IN ANCIENT EGYPT.

#### By A. WIEDEMANN.

In the Proceedings of March, 1890, and March, 1892 (XII, p. 227, sqq.; XIV, p. 223, sqq.), Dr. Gladstone gave a series of important notes about the use of copper, antimony, and tin in ancient Egypt; I may add here some words about another interesting mineral manufactured by the same people. The knowledge of cobalt has been very often erroneously given to the Ancients.\* Already Humphry Davy† showed by analysis, its occurrence in Roman glasses. John in Minutoli, "Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon," Berlin, 1824, expresses a double opinion: p. 334, 339 he pretends that the Egyptians did not know or at least did not use cobalt-blue as a pigment; on p. 353 he gives the analysis of a Roman glass found in the Thermes of Titus or at Pompeii containing cobalt, and on p. 352, that of a blue glass of Thebes showing some oxide of cobalt. Other analyses were made at the instigation of Lepsius.‡ A small quadrangular Egyptian amulet, which from the description of Lepsius appears to date from the later time of the new Empire, turned out to be a dark blue opaque glassy flux, painted with cobalt. An oblong dark blue glass-bead was painted likewise with cobalt; the quantitative analysis gave 2.86 per cent. oxide of cobalt; and another glass-bead contained 0.95 per cent. oxide of cobalt. The celebrated chemist A. W. Hofmann remarked on these analyses, that certainly the cobalt was added to the glassy fluxes in the form of a cobalt-mineral, but that it was impossible to define this mineral. Afterwards K. B. Hofmann § found out that the blue frits of the time of Ramses III, at Tell el Iehûdîje were painted with

<sup>\*</sup> For instance by Quenstaedt, "Handb. der Mineral," p. 250; Beckmann, Beitr. zur Gesch. der Erfind.," III, p. 204, sqq.

<sup>+ &</sup>quot;Annales de chimie," tome xcvi; cf. "Descr. d'Egypte," ii, p. 34, and Rosellini, "Mon. civ.," ii, p. 191, sqq.

<sup>‡</sup> Lepsius, "Metalle in den Aeg. Inschriften," in "Abh. der Berl. Akad.," 1871, p. 64 sq.

<sup>§ &</sup>quot;Aeg. Zeitschr.," 1885, p. 65.

cobalt. The mineral was therefore often used by the Egyptians, though the blue colour was usually obtained from copper.

The chief difficulty was now to find out whence the workmen got the mineral. Boudet\* thought that it came from India, from which country, especially from Surat, oxide of cobalt is imported even to the present time. But India is very remote, and so this guess remained necessarily a doubtful one; and with good reason, as in 1892 cobalt was discovered in Egypt itself. Johnson Pascha found in a very little known part of the country, a mineral, which was analysed by Droop Richmond and Hussein Off.† They discovered a new element in it, to which they gave the name Masrium, and after which the mineral was called Masrit. Besides this element and some other ingredients the mineral contained 1:02 per cent. oxide of cobalt. The same authors tried vainly to find cobalt in some samples of Egyptian colours handed over to them by M. Grébaut; they found only combinations of copper and iron. The analyses put together above show this negative result to be only an accidental one, and that cobalt was used by the Egyptians. The discovery of Richmond and Off proves sufficiently on the other hand that cobalt might have been found found by the Egyptians in their own country, and that they did not need to import it from foreign shores.



<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Descr. d'Eg.," Le.; Rosellini, Le.

<sup>+ &</sup>quot;Journal of the Chemical Society," vol. 61-52, nr. 355: June, 1892, p. 491-5.

## LETTRES DE TELL EL-AMARNA.

(6e Série.)

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

I.

Burraburiyas, Roi de Babylonie, a Aménophis IV, Roi d'Egypte.

(British Museum 3.)

Dans cette lettre, passablement obscure, à cause surtout du mauvais état de la tablette, Burraburiyas propose à Aménophis IV des échanges plus considérables que ceux qu'ils ont faits précédemment sous le nom de présents mutuels. Il semble offrir ses filles au roi d'Egypte. On a dit que Burraburiyas parlait aussi dans cette lettre d'une princesse égyptienne comme de sa belle-fille: nous sommes d'un avis différent, bien que nous ôtions par-là au monument ce qui en ferait le principal intérêt. Nous justifions notre manière de voir dans les notes.

#### TRANSCRIPTION.

#### RECTO.

- 1. A-na Na-ap-hu-ra-ri-ia, šar mat Mi-(iṣ-ri-i),
- 2. um-ma: Bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš, šar mat Ka-ra-ilu-du-ni-(ia-aš).
- 3. A-na ia-a-ši šu-ul-mu.
- 4. A-na ka-a-ša, a-na bi-ti-ka, a-na aš-ša-ti-ka, a-na . . . ,
- 5. a-na ra-ab-bu-ti-ka, a-na ṣa-bi-ka,
- 6. a-na narkabâti-ka, a-na si-si-ka, u a-na ma-ti-ka,
- 7. da-an-ni-iš lu šu-ul-mu.
- 8. Iš-tu Ka-ra-in-da-aš, iš-tu mari ši-ip-ri
- 9. ša ab-bi-ka a-na mu-uḥ-ḥi ab-bi-ia it-ta-al-la-ku-ni
- 10. a-di i-na-an-na, da-bu-tu šu-nu.
- 11. I-na-an-na a-na-ku u ka-ša da-bu-tu ni-nu.
- 12. Mari ši-ip-ri-ka a-di III-šu [= šilašu] it-ta-al-ku-ni,
- 13. u·šu-ul-ma-na ba-na-a mi-im-ma ul tu-ši-bi-lam;

14.	u a-na-ku-ma šu-ul-ma-na ba-na-a
15.	mi-im-ma ul u-ši-bi-la-ku.
16.	A-na ia-a-ši-ma mi-im-ma ul aķ-ra?
17.	U a-na ka-ša-ma mi-im-ma ul a-ķar-ku?
18.	Mar ši-ip-ri-ka ša ta-aš-pu-ra,
19.	X ma-na ḥuraṣi ša na-ša-a ul ma-li,
20.	u a-na u-tu-ni-ku i-iš-ku-nu V ma-na ḥuraṣi ul i-la-a.
21.	kap i-la-a i-na ṣa-la-mi pa-an di-ki-ni-šuin
22.	ma-a-'i-du
23.	da-bu-tu it-ti-a (?)
24.	ul ip-ši.
	lignes manquent à la fin du recto et au commencement du
verso.	Verso.
_	
	lib-bi (?) i-mu-šu-nu-ti mar ši-ip-ri-ka ki-i il-la-ak (?),
	li-il-ka-a,
	u zinnišsâti li-u-tu i-tu-ka i-ba-aš-šu-u
_	sam-ma ma-lu ša ta-ba-bi lu-ša-a-la,
	a-na(?)-si-i, ba-al-di li-gal, u ma-ma-aš-ku
_	ki-i ša ba-al-di ma-lu i-bu-uš; mar ši-ip-ri-ka li-il-ķa-a.
_	U \ (?) la-bi-ru-tu ip-šu-tu i-ba-aš-šu-u.
	Ki-i Ši-in-di-šu-ga-ap mar ši-ip-ri-ia ik-ta-al-la-ku,
	narkabâti ki-i ka-al-li-i ḥa-mu-ut-ta li-iš-ša am-ma
	a-na mu-uh-hi-ia, li-ik-šu-da
_	u iš(?)-šu(?)-ti ar-ku-ti li-bu-šu-ma.
	Ki-i mar si-ip-ri-ia u mar ši-ip-ri-ka il-la-ka.
	it-ti a-ḥa-mi-iš li-il-ku-ni.
	A-na šu-ul-ma-ni-ka II ma-na abni ukni ul-ti-bi-la-ku;
	u aš-šu marati-ka aššat mar-ia iš-mu-u
	ištin abna kišadi ša ti im ši i ti Xa abnu uknu
	M XL VIII mi-nu-ši-na,
	a-na šu-ul-ma-ni-ša ul-ti-bi-la-ka.
	U ki-i mar šı-ip-ri-ka it-ti Ši-in-di šu-ga-ab
	i-bu-uš-ma u-tu

## TRADUCTION.

- (1) A Napkhurariya, roi du pays de Misri, (2) en ces termes: Burraburiyas, roi du pays de Karduniyas. (3) Pour moi, je vais bien. (4) A toi, à ta maison, à ta femme . . . . (5) à tes nobles, à tes soldats, (6) à tes chars, à tes chevaux, à ton pays, (7) salut soit grandement.
- (29) Il y a chez moi de jeunes femmes; (30) demande n'importe laquelle, que tu veuilles épouser, (31) je l'amènerai [la ferai amener, et] le puissé-je bientôt, et ton mamaš, (32) quand je l'aurai fait en toute hâte, ton messager l'emportera. (33) Il y a aussi [chez moi à ta disposition] un X, œuvre ancienne [ou de façon antique].
- (34) Lorsque Sindisugab, mon messager, partira [de chez toi], (35) puisse-t-il emporter les chars en toute hâte, (36) et me les apporter, (37) pour que j'en fasse d'autres, neufs, [sur leur modèle]. (38) Quand mon messager et le tien partiront [de chez toi], (39) qu'ils fassent route ensemble.
- (40) Je te fais apporter comme présent deux mines de pierre uknu [cristal?], (41) et pour ta fille, la femme de mon fils, (suivant ce que (?) l'on entend [dire], (42-44) je t'envoie un collier (?) en pierre de . . . . . . dix de pierre uknu, dont le poids (?) est de 1048, (45, 46), et lorsque ton messager (sera venu) avec Sindisugab . . . . je ferai . . . . . .

# REMARQUES.

Ligne 13.—Les *šulmana banâ*, paraissent être dans la réalité des objets d'échange lucratif.

Ligne 30.—J'ai supposé pour tabali, la racine בעל.

Lignes 41-44.—La traduction que nous avons donnée de ce passage, suppose assat mari-ia apposé à marati-ka. C'est ce qu'il y a de plus favorable à l'hypothèse d'une fille d'Aménophis IV mariée à un fils de Burraburiyas. Mais il s'agirait d'un mariage projeté et non d'un mariage accompli. En effet, la princesse que Burraburiyas appellerait la femme de mon fils, est encore en Egypte, et c'est par l'intermédiaire du père que le roi de Babylonie lui fait parvenir des présents. Ce dernier s'autoriserait, pour parler et agir comme il le fait, d'une rumeur suivant laquelle Aménophis IV se montrerait favorable à la future union. Mais une autre traduction est possible, qui écarte toute idée de mariage. La voici:

La femme de mon fils, ayant appris . . . , . . L'envoie comme présent pour ta fille, etc.

Dans la phrase ainsi comprise, les verbes sont à la 3<sup>e</sup> personne du singulier masculin avec un sujet féminin, mais le cas se présente fréquemment dans nos lettres.

Il y a malheureusement une lacune à l'endroit qui fixerait le sens de la phrase.

Ligne 43.—*Minu*, le nombre des unités du poids dont le nom est sous-entendu. Comme il s'agit de bijoux précieux, l'unité de poids est probablement très petite, vu le nombre inscrit.

## II.

# Tusratta, Roi de Mitanni, a Aménophis III.

(British Museum, 9.)

Tusratta raconte qu'un certain Pirkhi, ou Tamkhi, sans doute un chef du voisinage et probablement du pays de Khatti, l'a inquiété au début de son règne, en soutenant les prétentions d'Artassoumara, son frère à lui Tusratta. Le roi de Mitanni a exterminé les partisans indigènes de ce dernier, et puis les bandes de Khatti venues à son secours. Il s'est emparé d'Artassoumara lui-même et l'a tué. Il fait hommage à Aménophis III de dépouilles enlevées aux gens de Khatti. Il lui envoie des présents ainsi qu'à sa femme Ghiloukhipa.

Pour atténuer l'impression fâcheue que ce récit devait produire, étant donné que Ghiloukhipa était sœur d'Artassoumara aussi bien que de Tusratta, il insiste, chemin faisant, sur les bons rapports qui existent entre les deux cours, et accable le roi d'Egypte de protestations d'amitîé.

#### TRANSCRIPTION.

- 1. A-na Y Ni-ip-mu-a-ri-a, šar mat Mi-iṣ-ri i,
- 2. a-hi-ia, ki țim-ma
- 3. um-ma: Y Tu-iš-í-rat-ta šar mat Mi-i-it-ta-an-ni
- 4. ahu-ka-ma. A-na ia-ši šul-mu.
- 5. A-na ka-a-ša lu-u šul-mu ; a-na 🎓 Gi-lu-ḥi-pa
- 6. a-ḥa-ti-ia lu-šul-mu, a-na bit-ka.
- 7. a-na aš-šâ-ti-ka a-na mari-ka, a-na amiluti rabuti-ka,
- 8. a-na sabi bak-ra-ti-ka, a-na sisi-ka,
- 9. a-na narkabâti-ka u a-na lib-bi mati-ka,
- 10. ta-an-ni-iš lu šul-mu
- II. Iš-tu i-na kussi ša a-bi-ia a-ši-bu,
- 12. u și-iḥ-ri-ku, u 🍴 Pir-ḥı a-ma-ta
- 13. la pa-ni-ta a-na mat-ti-ia i-ti-bu-uš-ma
- 14. u bi-il-šu id-du-uk, u aš-šum a-ni-tim
- 15. ia-ši it-ti ša i-ra-h-ma-an-ni-ni da-bu-u-ta
- 16. la u-ma-aš-ša-ra-an-ni. U a-na-ku ap-pu-na-ma
- 17. aš-šum a-ma-a-ti an-na-tim la pa-ṇa-a-tim
- 18. ša i-na mat-ti-ia in-ni-ip-šu, ul im-ti-ki,
- 19. u amilutu ta-i-ķa-ni-šu ša 🎙 Ar-ta-aš-šu-ma-ra
- 20. aḥi-ia ka-du mi-im-mu-šu-nu ad-du-uk-šu-nu-ti.
- 21. Ki-i at-ta it-ti a-bi-ia da-ba-a-ta,
- 22. u aš-šum an-ni-tim al-ta-par-ma ak-ta-ba-ak-ku,
- 23. ki-mi-í ahu-ia i-ši-im-mi-šu-nu-ma,
- 24. u i-ḥa-ad-du. A-bu-ia i-ra-ha-am-ka
- 25. u at-ta ap-pu-na-ma a-bu-ia
- 26. ta-ra-ha-am-šu, u a-bu-ia
- 27. ki-i ra-a-mi a-ḥa-ti a-na ka-a-ša
- 28. (id)-ta-na-ak-ku. U(?) an (?)-nu um ma-ša (?)-(ku(?)
- 29. . . . . ki-i ka-a-ša it (?)-ti (?) a-bi-ia.
- 30. (Lu ti)-ti-ma ap-pu-na-ma sa ahu-ia,
- 31. ki-i id-du-u su(?)-pur (?) lib(?)-bi mat Ḥa-at-ti
- 32. kap-pa-am-ma ki-i amiluti nakruti a-na mat-ti-ia
- 33. it-ta-al-ka, --- Raman bi-li a-na ka-ti-ia
- 34. id-din-šu-ma u ad-du-uk-šu.
- 35. Iš-tu kab-bi-šu-nu ša i-na mat-ti-šu ša i-du-ru, ia-nu.

- 36. A-nu-um-ma I narkabat, II sisi
- 37. I amila zu-ḥa-ru, I zinništa zu-ḥa-ar-tum,
- 38. ša hu-up-ti ša mat Ḥa-at-ti ul-ti-bı-la-ak-ku.
- 39. A-na šul-ma-ni ša ahi-ia V markabâti,
- 40. V și-mi-it-tum sisi ul-ti-bi-la-ak-ku.
- 41. U a-na šul-ma-ni ša 🎓 Gi-lu-ḥi-pa
- 42. a-ha-ti-ia ištin-nu-tum tu-ti-na-tum hurasi,
- 43. ištin-nu-tum an-za-ba-tum hurași, I ma-aš-hu hurași,
- 44. u I abna ta-ba-tum ša šamni ma-lu-u,
- 45. ul-ti-bi-la-aš-ši.
- 46. A-nu-um-ma | Gi-li-ia sukkal-li,
- 47. u \ Tum-ni-ip-ip-ri al-ta-par-šu-nu. Aḥu-ia ḥa-mu-ut-ta
- 48. li-mi-iš-šir-šu-nu-ma, ti-í-ma ha-mu-ut-ta
- 49. li-ti-ru-ni-im-ma, ki-mi-í šul-ma-an-šu
- 50. ša aḥi-ia í-ši-im-mi-ma u a-ḥa-ad-du.
- 51. Aḥu-ia da-bu-u-ta it-ti-ia li-bi-h-i,
- 52. u ahu-ia mari sipri-šu li-iš-pu-ra-am-ma,
- 53. ki-mi-í šul-ma-an-šu ša ahi-ia
- 54. i-li-ik-ku-ni-im-ma u í-si-im-mi

#### TRADUCTION.

- (1) A Nipmuaria, roi du pays de Misri, (2) mon frère, pour information, (3) en ces termes: Tusratta, roi du pays de Mittanni, (4) ton frère. Pour moi, je vais bien. (5) A toi, salut; à Ghiloukhipa, (6) ma sœur salut; à ta maison, (7) à tes femmes, à tes fils, à tes nobles, (8) à tes vaillants soldats, à tes chevaux, (9) à tes chars, et dans ton pays, (10) salut soit à un haut degré.
- (11) Depuis que je me suis assis sur le trône de mon père, (12) et j'étais tout jeune, (12, 13) Pirkhi a infligé de mauvais traitements à mon pays, (14) et il en a tué la population, (14–16) et quant à moi la bienveillance ne me fit pas défaut pour cela chez ceux qui m'aimaient, (16) et aussi de mon côté, (17, 18) je ne me laissai pas abattre (?) par ces choses fâcheuses qui se passaient dans mon pays, (19) et les homicides [au service] d'Artassoumara (20) mon frère, avec tout ce qui tenait à eux, je les tuai.
- (21) Comme tu usais d'amitié envers mon père, (22) pour ce motif, j'envoie message et te déclare [ces faits], (23) afin que mon frère apprenne ces choses, (24) et s'en réjouisse. Mon père

t'aimait, (25, 26) et toi aussi tu aimais mon père, et mon père, (27-28) par amitié, t'a donné ma sœur. Et je (?) . . . . . . . . . . . (29) . . . comme toi envers mon père.

- (30) Tu sauras (?) aussi que mon frère [Artassoumara], (31) ayant lancé des messagers dans (?) le pays de Khatti (32) tout entier, (32, 33) et que des ennemis [gens de Khatti] s'étant rendus dans mon pays, (33, 34) le dieu Raman, mon maître, le livra à ma main, et que je le tuai. (35) D'eux tous, il n'en est pas un qui soit retourné dans son pays.
- (36-38) Maintenant je t'envoie un char, deux chevaux, un jeune homme, une jeune fille, du butin du pays de Khatti.
- (39, 40) Comme présent à mon frère, je t'envoie cinq chars et cinq attelages de chevaux.
- (41, 42) Comme présent à Ghiloukhipa ma sœur, (45) je lui envoie (42) un tutinatum d'or, (43) un anzabatum d'or, un mašhu d'or, (44) et une bouteille remplie d'huile [parfum].
- (46, 47) Maintenant je t'envoie Gilia, [mon] messager, et Tumnipipri. (47, 48) Que mon frère les laisse partir sans retard; (48, 49) qu'ils me rapportent bien vite des nouvelles, (40) pour que j'apprenne l'heureux état de mon frère, et que je m'en réjouisse.
- (51) Que mon frère ressente de l'amitié à mon endroit, (52) et que mon frère envoie ses messagers, (53, 54) pour qu'ils apportent de bonnes nouvelles de mon frère et que je [les] entende.

# REMARQUES.

Ligne 8.—Bakratam, vaillance, de la racine תוב , qui exprime en hébreu l'idée de primogéniture, à laquelle se rattache celle de force. Cf. Genèse, xlix, 3.

Ligne 14.—*Bi-il* ne me semble pas pouvoir signifier ici maître. En effet, si Pirkhi est étranger, comme je le pense, et qu'il ait tué un prince étranger, son maître, la chose importe peu pour Tusratta. Si Pirkhi est un sujet de Tusratta, il ne peut avoir tué celui-ci; il ne peut pas davantage avoir tué e roi précédent, car il ne causait des embarras au pays de Mittanni que depuis l'avènement de Dusratta. Je considère *bi-il* comme un équivalent masculin de *bahlat*, *bahulatu*, qui signifie peuple.

Ligne 19.— Taiķani-šu (=daikani-šu) ša Artaššu mara, ne peut signifier les meurtriers d'Artassoumara, car celui-ci reparaît vivant dans la suite, aux lignes 30-34.

Lignes 30-34.—Malgré les incertitudes du texte, il semble que aḥu-ia (= mon frère, c'est-à-dire Artassoumara) soit le seul antécédent possible de šu, qui se lit deux fois à la ligne 34.

#### III.

# Autre lettre de Tusratta a Aménophis III.

(British Museum, 10.)

Dans cette lettre, Tusratta annonce à Aménophis III le départ d'une statue de l'Istar de Ninive, qui doit séjourner quelque temps en Egypte, et revenir ensuite au pays de Mitanni, où elle était l'objet d'une vénération spéciale. La statue avait déjà fait le voyage sous Satarna, père de Tusratta. On la portait de temps en temps en Egypte apparemment pour satisfaire la dévotion des princesses de Mitanni, épouses des Pharaons.

Inutile de dire que le culte rendu en Mitanni à la grande déesse du panthéon ninivite, suppose des affinités entre ce pays et l'Assyrie.

Je reviens, à l'occasion de cette lettre, sur les alliances qui unissaient les familles royales d'Egypte et de Mitanni, afin de compléter autant que possible, et de rectifier en partie, ce que j'en ai dit avant la publication du recueil anglais.

En tête de la lettre 8 du British Museum, écrivant à Aménophis III, *Im-mu-ri-ia*, Tusratta l'appelle *ḥa-ta-ni-ia*, = mon gendre; il s'appelle lui-même *i-mi-i-ka*, = ton beau-père. Il dit de plus: *Salut à ma sœur et au reste de tes femmes*. Les appellations de *ḥatan* et de *imi* semblent se justifier dans cette lettre, non par le mariage de la sœur de Dusratta, qui se nommait Giloukhipa (*British Museum*, 9, l. 5, 27) mais par la promesse qu'il fait d'envoyer sa propre fille à Aménophis III, qui l'a demandée pour en faire *la maîtresse* de l'Egypte, c'est-à-dire reine (l. 18, 19). Ce serait des appellations anticipées.

La princesse mitannienne, épouse d'Aménophis III, ne semble pas pouvoir être Tadukhipa, parce que celle-ci avait épousé Aménophis IV. En effet, Tusratta, dans une lettre au fils et successeur immédiat d'Aménophis III, à Aménophis IV par conséquent, dit à celui-ci mon gendre, et dit de lui-même ton beaupère. Il dit également: Salut à Tadukhipa, ma fille, ta femme. (Berlin, 24. Voir notre traduction du document dans les

Proceedings, juin 1891, p. 558-561.) Le même Tusratta, dans une lettre à Tii, veuve d'Aménophis III, lui dit: Salut à Tadukhipa, ta belle-fille, kallati-ka (Brit. Mus., 11, l. 4, 5. Voir la traduction, No. IV, ci-après). Et on admettra difficilement qu'Aménophis IV ait épousé une veuve de son père.

Quelle est donc cette fille de Tusratta qu'Aménophis III avait épousée et faite reine, sans doute après avoir perdu Giloukhipa, dont à partir d'une certaine époque on ne trouve plus de trace dans la correspondance de Tusratta? A m'en tenir aux documents de Tell el-Amarna, je croirais que c'est Tii, à laquelle nous verrons Tusratta écrire familièrement, dans une lettre dont l'en-tête, qui aurait pu nous renseigner, est par malheur déterioré comme l'ensemble du document. Cette opinion me semble au moins plus probable que celle que j'ai suivie jusqu'à présent, et qui faisait de Tii la sœur, non la fille de Tusratta.

Par contre, chez les égyptologues, dit M. Maspero (Histoire, 4° éd, 1886, p. 210), "on s'accorde généralement à la croire étrangère, mais les uns affirment qu'elle était sémite, les autres qu'elle était lybienne. Tii était pourtant une égyptienne de vieille souche, comme l'indiquent son nom et le nom de ses parents. Elle n'appartenait pas à la race royale, mais sortait d'une famille de simples particuliers: peut-être, si nous connaissions le fond de son histoire, n'y verrions-nous qu'un épisode de roman, un roi épousant par amour la bergère traditionnelle."

#### TRANSCRIPTION.

- 1. A-na Y Ni-im-mu-ri-ia, šar mat Mi-iṣ-ri-i,
- 2. aḥi-ia, ḥa-ta-ni-ia, ša a-ra-ha-mu,
- 3. u ša i-ra-ha-a-ma-an-ni, ki țim-ma
- 4. um-ma: Y Du-uš-rat-ta šar Mi-i-ta-an-ni
- 5. ša i-ra-ha-a-mu-ka, í-mu-ka-ma.
- 6. A-na ia-ši šul-mu. A-na ka-a-ša lu-u šul-mu.
- 7. A-na bit-ka, a-na 🎓 Ta-a-ṭu-ḥi-pa marat-ia,
- 8. a-na aššat-ka ša ta-ra-ha-mu, lu-u šul-mu.
- 9. A-na aššâti-ka, a-na mari-ka, a-na amiluti rabuti-ka,
- 10. a-na narkabâti-ka, a-na sisi-ka,
- 11. a-na ṣabi-ka, a-na mat-ka u a-na
- 12. mim-mu-ka, dan-is dan-is lu-u šul-mu.
- 13. Um-ma Ištar ša Ni-i-na-a, bilit matâti
- 14. kap-pi-ši-na-ma, a-na mat Mi-iṣ-ri-i,

- 15. i-na mati ša a-ra-ha-a-mu, lu-ul-lik-ku-mi
- 16. lu-us-za-hi-ir-mi; a-nu-um-ma i-na-an-na
- 17. ul-ti-i-bil-ma it-tal-ka.
- 18. A-nu-um-ma i-na tir-și a-bi-ia-ma
- 19. ► Ištar bil-tum i-na mati ša-a-ši it-tal-ka,
- 20. u ki-i-mi-i i-na pa-na-a-nu-um-ma
- 21. it-ta-šap-ma uk-ti-ib-bi-du-ši (?),
- 22. u i-na-an-na ahu-ia a-na X šanîtu
- 23. ili ša pa-na-a-ti li-gi-ib-bi-is-si.
- 24. Ahu-ia li-gi-ib-bi-is-su i-na ḥa-di-i,
- 25. li-miš-šir-šu-ma li-du-u-ra.
- 26. Ištar bilit ša-mi-i aha-ia u ia-ši
- 27. li-iṣ-ṣur-an-na-ši C li-im-mu \,
- 28. u hi-du-ta ra-bi-ta bilit anniti
- 29. a-na ki-la-a-al-li-ni li-d-din-an-na-ši-ma,
- 30. u ki-i ta-a-bi i-ni-bu-uš.
- 31. Ištar a-na ia-ši-ma i-li,
- 32. u a-na ahi-ia la-a iš-šu.

## TRADUCTION.

- (1) A Nimmuaria, roi de Misri, (2) mon frère, mon gendre, que j'aime, (3) et qui m'aime, pour information, (4) en ces termes: Tusratta, roi de Mitanni, (5) qui t'aime, ton beau-père. (6) Je vais bien. A toi, soit salut. (7) A ta maison, à Tadûkhipa, ma fille, (8) à ta femme que tu aimes, soit salut. (9) A tes femmes, à tes fils, à tes nobles, (10) à tes chars, à tes chevaux, (11) à tes soldats à ton pays, et à (12) tout ce qui t'appartient, salut à un très haut degré.
- (13) [Je parle] ainsi: Istar de Ninâ [Ninive], (13, 14) la maîtresse de tous les pays, au pays de Misri, (15) au pays que j'aime, qu'elle se rende, et (16) qu'elle revienne. Voilà que maintenant, (17) je l'envoie et qu'elle part.
- (18) Au temps de mon père, (19) Istar, la maîtresse, s'est rendue en ce pays. (20) Et comme précédemment (21) elle y a séjourné et qu'on l'y a honorée, (22) maintenant mon frère, dix fois (23) plus qu'auparavant, puisse-t-il l'honorer! (24) Que mon frère l'honore avec joie, (25) qu'il la laisse partir et qu'elle revienne.
- (26) Istar, la maîtresse du ciel, mon frère et moi (27) qu'elle nous conserve cent ans, (28, 29) et que cette maîtresse clémente (?)

nous donne à l'un et l'autre grande joie et faveur, (30) et que nous agissions en amis.

(31) Istar [re]montera vers moi, (32) et ne s'attardera (?) pas chez mon frère.

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 21.—Uktibidu, de la racine כבד

Ligne 23.—Ligibissi pour likibissi, pour likibid-ši, de la même racine.

Ligne 27.-Limmu = année. On se rappelle l'expression : limmu d'un tel, dans les inscriptions de Ninive, et qui, d'après notre passage, doit signifier simplement *l'année* d'un tel.

Ligne 28.—Anniti, voir Brünnow, 4580. L'expression bilit anniti signifierait littéralement : la maîtresse de clémence.

#### IV.

Tusratta a Tii, veuve d'Aménophis III et Reine d'Egyptf.

# (British Museum, 11.)

Pièce très fruste, et néanmoins facile à comprendre en plusieurs endroits parce qu'elle roule sur le même sujet que la lettre 24 du recueil de Berlin, dont nous avons donné la traduction dans les *Proceedings*, en juin 1891, p. 558–561.

Dans cette dernière lettre, adressée à Aménophis IV, Tusratta demande l'exécution de promesses faites par Aménophis III, lequel était mort avant d'avoir pu tenir parole; il invoque le témoignage de la *grande Tii*, femme d'Aménophis III et mère d'Aménophis IV, qui connaissait les engagements de son mari défunt.

Dans la lettre à Tii, probablement portée en Egypte par le même courrier, Tusratta prie la reine de témoigner en sa faveur auprès de son fils, le nouveau roi. Elle connaissait seule, avec Mani, porteur ordinaire des messages d'Aménophis III à Tusratta, les engagements conclus après débat entre les deux monarques. Tusratta, à ce qu'il semble, s'était exécuté le premier, et Aménophis III, un moment, lui avait inspiré des craintes par sa lenteur à s'acquitter de ce qu'il devait. Mais Tii avait rassuré Tusratta par l'intermédiaire de Giliya, un messager souvent employé par lui; elle lui avait conseillé de continuer ses dons, lui prédisant qu'il finirait par s'en

trouver bien, comme cela était arrivé à son père. Tusratta rappelle ces faits, où la responsabilité de Tii est engagée, afin de la décider à intervenir.

A la fin de la lettre, Tusratta parle de sa femme Youni, qui était en correspondance avec Tii par des messagers particuliers et réciproques.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

I KIMOCKII IION.
1. A-na ( Ti-i) bilit mat Mi-iṣ-(ri-i),
2. um-ma: Y (Du-us)-rai-ta šar Mi-(ta-an-ni
3. šul-mu. A-na ka-a-ši lu-u šul-mu. (A-na   Na-ap-hur-ri-a)
4. mar-ka lu-u šul-mu. A-na 🏲 Ta-a-ţu-hi-pa (marat-ia)
5. kallati-ka, lu-u šul-mu, a-na matâti-ka, a-(na bit(?)-ka),
6. u mim-mu-ka, dan-is dan-is lu-u šul-mu.
7. At-ti-i-ma ti-i-ta-a-an-ni ki-mi-i (a-na-ku it-ti)
8. \ Mi-im-mu-ri-ia mu-ti-i-ka ar-(ta-na-ha-am-ma),
9. u Mi-im-mu-ri-ia ap-pu-na mu-(ti-i-ki)
10. ki-i-mi-í it-ti-ia ir-ta-na-ha-am u (ti-i-ti)
11. (a-n)a \ Mi-im-mu-ri-a mu-ti-i-ki ša a-ma-(ti al-ta-na-ap-par)
12. (u) ša a-dab-bu-bu, u \ Mi-im-mu-ri-a
13. (ap-pu)-na mu-ti-i-ki a-ma-ti >>>> a-na ia-ši
14. (il-ta)-na-ap-pa-ru u ša i-dab-bu-bu. At-ti-ı
15ya u ₹ Ma-ni-î i-ti, u at-ti-i-ma
16 il kap-pi-šu-nu. Ti-i-ti a-ma-ti 🎞
17. (ša it)-ti a-ḥa-mi-iš ni-id-bu-bu; ma-am-ma
18. (ša-nu)-um-ma la i-ti-šu-nu.
19. A-nu-um-ma at-ti-i-ma a-na \ Gi-li-ia
20. (ta-ak)-ta-bi: a-na bi-li-i-ka ki-bi-i-(ma)
21. \ Mi-im-mu-ri-a mu-ti it-ti a-bi-i-ka
22. (ir)-ta-na-ha-am-mi u ak ka-a-ša it-ta-za-ar mil
23. u (?) it-ti a-bi-ka ra-h-mu-ut-ta-šu la im
24. (i-na) aš-ra-na ša il-ta-na-ap-pa-ru la ip-ti
25. (U i-na)-an-na at-ta it-ti    Mi-im-mu-ri-ia
26 ra-h-mu-ut-ka la ta-ma-aš-ši-ra-(am-ma)
27
28 (i-na) ḥi-du-ti ta-al-ta-na-ap-(pa-ra)
29. (u lib-bi-šu ul ta-ma)-ar-ra-aș

..... mu-ti-i-ki ra-h-mu-ut-ta

31.       nu i-na-an-na-a-ma         32.       mar-ka a-n X šanîti         33.       am u a-ma-ti         34.       mi-i-ni i-na-         35.       ki-it-ti-na u an-ni
32
33
34· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
34
35
36
37· · · · · · · · · · · · · šu- u um-ma a-na . · · · · · · ·
38 šu 🍴 Na-ap-ḥur-ri-ia
39
40 i-na-an-ti-nu la
41 i-ma i-na bi-i-ki a
42 u a-na pani ₹ Na-ap-ḥur-(ri-a)
43 ta-at-ru-uş ; šum-ma
44. (a-na pa-nı)-šu la ta-tar-ra-aṣ, u a(t-ti-i)
45. (lu-u- ti)-i-ti. Gar-gar- >>>> ša ḥuraṣi ub-bu-(ku-u-du)
46. ▼ Na-ap-ḥur-ri-ia li-id-ti-na ; la mi-im-ma
47. (lib)-bi lu-u la-a u-ša-am-ra-aṣ ; ma-la-a
48. $i(?)$ -din $(?)$ a-bi-šu, $X$ šanitu li-i-ti-ti-ir-an- $(ni)$
49. (i-n)a ra-a-h-mu-ti u i-na gu-ub-bu-ti (?).
50. U ad-du-ki Emmari šipri-ka it-ti mari šip-ri
51. ša   Na-ap-hur-ri-ia, it-ti
52. ša 🗲 I-u-ni aššat-ia li-il-(li-ku)
53. a-na ma-al-ta-ri-iš-ma u E
54. ša 🎓 I-u-ni aššat-ia a-na mat-ia
55. li-il-li-ku a-na ma-al-ta-(ri-iš).
56. A-nu-um-ma a-na šul-ma-ni-i-ka
57
58. ištin-nu-tum
Traduction.

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) A (Tii), maîtresse du pays de Misri..., (2) en ces termes: Tusratta, roi de Mitanni..... Je (3) vais bien. A toi, salut, (à Napkhurriya) (4) ton fils, salut. A Tadukhipa, (ma fille), (5) ta belle-fille, salut. A tes pays, à ta maison (?), (6) et à tout ce qui t'appartient, salut à un haut degré.

- (7, 8) Tu sais comment moi j'ai usé d'amitié envers Mimmuriya ton mari, (9, 10) et comment Mimmuriya aussi a usé d'amitié envers moi. (Tu sais) (11) que (j'ai envoyé) des propositions à Mimmuriya, (12) et que je les ai débattues, et que Mimmuriya (13, 14) aussi, ton époux, m'a envoyé des propositions et qu'il les a débattues. Toi (15) mon... et Mani vous le savez. Et toi, (tu as été mêlée) (?) à tout cela. Tu sais les propositions (17) que nous avons débattues ensemble. Aucun (18) autre (?) ne les connaît.
- (19, 20) Voilà que tu as dit à Giliya: "Dis à ton maître [de ma part]: (21) Mimmuriya, mon époux, (21, 22) a usé d'amitié envers ton père, et pour toi comment gardera-t-il.....? (23) Et envers ton père il n'a point démenti (?) son amitié, (24) et ce qu'il [ton père] a envoyé (par) bienveillance, il [Mimmuriya] ne l'a pas..... (25) (Et main)tenant, toi, envers Mimmuriya..... (26) ne donne point de relâche à ton amitié. (27)............ Augmente et garde-lui...... (28) tu lui enverras avec joie, (29) (et tu ne lui frois)seras pas le cœur.

Les lignes 30-44 sont trop mutilées pour qu'il soit permis d'essayer aucune reconstitution ni traduction.

- (45, 46) Que Napkhurriya donne les gargar d'or x; (46, 47) qu'en rien il ne me froisse le cœur; tout ce que (48) son père donnait, qu'il le donne à son tour au décuple, (49) par amitié et générosité (?).
- (50-52) Et pour toi, que tes messagers viennent avec les messagers de Napkhurriya, avec les . . . . de Youni, ma femme, (53) au plus tôt (?) et que les messagers (54) de Youni, ma femme, . . . . . . . (55) partent au plus tôt (?).
- (56–58) Voilà que comme présents pour toi, (j'envoie)...... un vase de .... (rempli) de bonne (?) huile ...., un ....

# REMARQUES.

Ligne 4.—Marat-ia, d'après British Museum, 10, l. 7. Voir plus haut, l'introduction du n° III.

Ligne 8.—*Muti-ka* sic; mais l. 13, régulièrement *muti-ki*. *Ar-ta-na-ha-am* restitué d'après l. 10, *ir-ta-na-ha-am*, en considération de la symétrie de la phrase.

Ligne 11.—Al-ta-na-ap-par, restitué d'après son symétrique (il-ta)-na-ap-pa-ru à la ligne 13. Peut-être faut-il, à cause du manque d'espace à la fin de la ligne, restituer as-pur, qui a le même sens.

Ligne 15.—Iti, a pour sujet Mani. Le verbe est sous-entendu après le premier sujet atti.

Ligne 29.—Restitution d'après l. 47, et *Berlin*, 24, recto, l. 54. Voir *Proceedings*, t. XIII, 1890–91, p. 561.

Lignes 42-45.—Tusratta me semble dire: "Tu te présenteras devant Napkhurriya, ton fils; si tu ne te présentes pas à lui [pour témoigner en ma faveur], tu sais pourtant bien [ce qu'il en est]."

Ligne 50.—Addu-ki, pour attu-ki. Formation analogue à attu-a, attu-kunu, etc. Voir Delitzsch, Gramm., p. 132.

Ligne 57.—Mali d'après Brit. Mus., 9, l. 44. Voir plus haut, n° II.

## V.

# LE ROI D'ALASIYA AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(Berlin, 11.)

Le roi d'Egypte s'est plaint de certains méfaits commis par les gens du pays de Loukki, sans doute voisin d'Alasiya, de connivence avec les habitants de cette dernière contrée, et il a fait des menaces à ce sujet. La lettre du roi d'Alasiya répond à ce message.

Il me semble qu'il s'agit de brigandages dont auraient eu à souffrir des Egyptiens venus pour affaires en Alasiya, ou traversant cette principauté pour ce rendre ailleurs dans le même but. C'est ainsi que Burraburiyas, roi de Babylonie, se plaint à Aménophis IV des mauvais traitements subis par des voyageurs, ses sujets, en Palestine, sur un territoire dépendant de l'Egypte (*Berlin*, 7, verso, ll. 27–36.)

#### TRANSCRIPTION.

- 1. A-na šar-ri mat Mi-iṣ-ri aḥi-ia, ki ṭim-ma
- 2. um-ma: šar-ri mat A-la-ši-ia aḥu-ka-ma.
- 3. A-na ia-ši šul-mu, u a-na ka-ša lu-u šul-mu.
- 4. A-na bit-ka, aššâti(?)-ka, mari-ka, sisi-ka,
- 5. narkabâti-ka, u i-na ma-a-du şabi-ka,
- 6. matâti-ka, amiluti rabuti-ka, dan-is lu-u šul-mu.
- 7. Am-mi-ni, aḥu-ia, a-ma-ta an-ni-ta
- 8. a-na ia-ši ta-kab-bi? Šu-u ahu-ia
- 9. la i-ti-šu; a-ma-ti an-ni-ta la i-bu-uš.
- 10. A-na-ku, i-nu-ma amiluti ša mat Lu-uk-ki,

- II. ša-at-ta ša-ta-ma, i-na mat-ia la(?)...ih-ra,
- 12. i-ni-gi.
- 13. Ah-hi, at-ta ta-kab-bi a-na ia-ši:
- 14. amiluti ša mat-ka it-ti-šu-nu i-ba-aš-ši;
- 15. u a-na-ku aḥu-ia la i-ti-mi ki-i it-ti-šu-nu
- 16. i-ba-aš-ši. Šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši amiluti ša mat-ia,
- 17. u at-ta a-na ia-ši šu-pur, u a-na-ku
- 18. ki-i lib-bi-ia í-bu-uš.
- 19. At-ta-ma la-a ti-ti-i, Amiluti ša mat-ia
- 20. la-a i-bu-uš a-ma-ta an-ni-ta. Šum-ma
- 21. i-bu-šu amiluti ša mat-ia, u at-ta ki-i lib-bi-ka
- 22. i-bu-uš.
- 23. I-nu-ma, ahu-ia, ki-i mar šipri-ia
- 24. la-a ta-aš-pur, dup-pi an-ni-tum aḥu ša šarri
- 25. (lu) iš-pur. Ša i-bu-uš mar šipri-ka
- 26. i-kab-bu-ni.
- 27. Ša-ni-tam a-i-tum a-ba-í-ga a-na
- 28. a-ba-í-ia i-na ba-na-ni í-bu-šu
- 29. a-ma-(ta) an-ni-ta; u i-na-an-na, ahu-ia,
- 30. la ta-ša-ga-an i-na lib-bi-ka.

# TRADUCTION.

- (1) Au roi du pays de Misri, mon frère, pour information, (2) en ces termes: Le roi du pays d'Alasiya ton frère. (3) Je vais bien. A toi salut. (4) A ta maison, à tes femmes (?), à tes enfants, à tes chevaux, (5) à tes chars, à tes nombreux soldats, (6) à tes terres, à tes nobles, salut à un haut degré.
- (7, 8) Pourquoi, mon frère, me dis-tu chose pareille? (8, 9) Luimême mon frère ne le sait pas [n'est pas bien informé de ce dont il s'agit]. (9) Je n'ai pas fait chose pareille. (10) Pour moi, si les gens du pays de Loukki, (11) chaque année, font . . . . . dans mon pays, (12) je suis innocent.
- (13) Mon frère, tu me dis: (14) "Les gens de ton pays sont avec eux." (15, 16) Et moi j'ignore qu'ils sont avec eux. (16) Si les gens de mon pays sont avec eux, (17) toi, mande-le moi [le cas échéant], et moi (18) je ferai selon mon cœur [volonté].
- (19) Mais toi, tu n'es pas au courant [de la chose]. Les gens de mon pays (20) n'ont pas fait chose pareille. Si (21) les gens de

mon pays le font [réellement] (21, 22) toi, agis suivant ton cœur [volonté, j'y consens].

- (23) Maintenant, mon frère, (23, 24) comme tu ne renvoyais pas mon messager, (24, 25) le frère du roi [c'est-à-dire, moi] a envoyé cette tablette. (25) Ce que j'ai à faire, ton messager (26) me le dira.
- (28) Au surplus, quand tes pères (27-29) ont-ils fait précédemment chose pareille à mes pères? (29) Et maintenant, mon frère, ne te mets pas [pareille résolution] dans l'esprit.

# REMARQUES.

Ligne 11.— $\check{S}ata$ , pour  $\check{s}atta$ .  $\check{S}atta$   $\check{s}atta$  = année année, c'està-dire, tous les ans.

Ligne 12.—I-ni-gi, pour i-ni-ki, de la racine i. Sur la préformante i à la première personne, voir nos observations dans les *Proceedings*, t. XII, p. 220, 221.

Ligne 27.—A-i-tum, interrogatif. Nous l'avons traduit quand, mais il signifierait bien aussi est-ce que.

#### VI.

# Autre Lettre du Roi d'Alasiya au Roi d'Egypte.

# (British Museum, 6.)

D'après ce que je crois saisir dans cette lettre, d'une interprétation très difficile, elle a été dictée par les mêmes circonstances que la précédente. Le roi d'Egypte, mal disposé à l'égard du roi d'Alasiya, lui avait fait parvenir un message épistolaire contenant des ordres ou des menaces, sans donner au porteur le pouvoir de traiter personnellement avec lui. Précédemment, il avait refusé audience à un ambassadeur de son vassal. Le roi d'Alasiya l'engage à réfléchir et à entendre son nouvel envoyé. Ce dernier apportera cent talents de bronze au roi d'Egypte, dont le messager retourne aussi chargé de présents. A la fin du long passage mutilé, au milieu de la pièce, le roi d'Alasiya parle, dirait-on, d'une difficulté qu'il a réglée de son mieux entre un marchand alasiyen et un marchand égyptien. Il demande encore pour le futur envoyé égyptien la permission de traiter avec lui, et pour le sien la faveur d'une audience. En terminant, il reproche au Pharaon de ne lui avoir pas rendu certaines politesses qu'il lui avait faites.

# TRANSCRIPTION.

τ.	Um-ma: šar mat A-la-si-ia		
	a-na šar mat Mi-iṣ-ri ahi-ia-ma.		
	Li-ma-ad i-nu-ma šal-ma-ku u		
-	ra-ši mat-ia, u iš-tu šul-mu(?)-ķa(?).		
	U šu-lu-lum-ķa, šu-lum bit-ķa, mari-ķa,		
	aššăti, sisi, narkabâti-ka,		
7.			
	i-nu-ma ta-aš-tap-ra a-na ia-a-ši,		
	a-na mi-nim-mi la-a tu-ma-ši-ra		
_	mari ši-ip-ri-ka a-na maḥ-ri-ia (?)		
	Ša-ni-tum u la-a iš-mi i-nu-ma		
12.	ti-na-ku ni-ka-am, u la ti-id-du		
13.	mi-ma i-na lib-bi-ka u aš-šu-u		
14.	iš-ma-am; u a-nu-ma ut-ta-šir		
15.	mar ši-ip-ri-ia i-na maḥ-ri-ka		
16.	u al-lu-u ut-ta-šir-ka.		
17.	I-na ķa-ti mar ši-ip-(ri)-ia a-na ka-tam		
18.	C bilât iri. Ša-ni-tum, u a-nu-ma		
19.	u-nu-ti i-ba-al mar ši-ip-ri-ķa:		
20.	išt-in ⊭ ir-šu iși ušu ḥurași šu-ḥi-a,		
21.	u narkab-tum šu-ḥi-tum i-na ḥuraṣi,		
22.	u II sisi, u XLII illuri(?) u		
23.	L 🗲 naparki (?) illuri (?), u II ku-ši-ti illuri (?), u		
	XIV 🗲 kalli (?), u XV 💥 ha-ba-na-tu ša šamni tabi.		
	(U) iš-tu illuri(?) šarri IV illuri (?) u IV napraki (?) illuri(?)		
	tu u-nu-ti ša i-ia-nu		
-	u su (?) i-ma-ru		
	·····   ir-ši u		
	na tu-kir i-ia-nu		
31.	ši-ip-ri-ia.		
32.	ši-mu		
33.	na u		
	4		
	5		
36.	u mar si ip		

37 ki-ia u
38 ki-ma ar-ḥi-iš
39
40 amil tam-ga-ru-ka u amil tamgaru-ia
41 i it ga-gi it-ti-šu-nu
42. u lu-u (í)-bu-uš ki-it-ti
43. <i>i-na bi- ku-ni</i> ; <i>u</i>
44. mar ši-ip-(ri)-ia a-na maḥ-ri-ka
45. i-li-ku u mar si-ip-ri-ka
46. a-na maḥ-ri-ia i-li-ku. Ša-ni-tum,
47. šamni u illuri (?) a-na mi-nim la-a
48. tu-ma-ši-ru-ni a-na-ku-ma ša
49. ti-ri-šu at-ta u a-na-ku id-di-nu
50. u al-lu-u ha-ba-na-at (ša) šamni ṭabi
51. ma-la-at a-na ta-pa-ki a-na (ka-ka)-di-ka
52. uš-ši-ir-ti i-nu-ma tu-ša-ab a-na kussi
53. šar-ru-ta-ka.

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) En ces termes: Le roi d'Alasiya (2) au roi du pays de Misri mon frère. (3) Apprends que je vais bien, ainsi que (4) les principaux de mon pays, et qu'ils font des vœux pour ta prospérité (?). (5) Salut à toi, salut à ta maison, à tes enfants, (6) à tes femmes, chevaux et chars, (7) à ton pays. Salut à un haut degré. Considère, toi, mon frère: (8) quand tu m'envoies message, (9, 10) pourquoi ne laisses-tu pas venir ton envoyé en ma présence? (11) De plus, [mon frère] ne comprend pas que (12, 13) je juge suivant l'équité, et tu ne mets rien dans ton esprit [tu ne considères rien], et pour ... (14) ...., qu'il soit admis, maintenant, (15) mon messager, en ta présence. (16) Et ne sera-t-il pas admis chez toi? (17) Il se trouve dans la main de mon messager, pour toi, (18) cent talents de bronze, et voilà (19) que ton messager aussi apporte [de ma part] des objets: (20) un lit de bois d'ušu, incrusté d'or, (21) un char incrusté d'or, (22) deux chevaux...

L'énumération des objets se poursuit jusqu'à la fin de la ligne 25, mais je ne comprends le sens de presque aucun mot, et les lectures même que je propose sont très problématiques ; je vois seulement (l. 25) qu'on envoie un vase contenant une huile excellente. Il n'y a rien à trouver dans les lignes 26-38, trop mutilées.

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 4.—Ištu, ipteal de la racine שורה?

Ligne 12.— Tinaku pour dinaku. Niķam, voir le nº V, note sur la ligne 12.

Ligne 16.— Allû aurait-il le sens du latin nonne, qui convient ici, et mieux encore à la ligne 50?

Ligne 48.—*Tumaširu-ni anaku*. Je considère le pronom séparé comme une répétition du suffixe *ni*.

Ligne 49.—U introduit la proposition principale de la phrase comme  $\P$  en hébreu.

Ligne 52.— $U\tilde{s}\tilde{s}ir$ -ti. On s'attendrait à avoir simplement  $u\tilde{s}\tilde{s}ir$ ; ti fait penser à la désinence ti de la  $\mathbf{1}^{re}$  personne du singulier dans les prétérits hébraïques.



## ETUDE SUR ABYDOS.

## PAR E. LEFÉBURE.

Il n'y a pas ici une monographie historique, religieuse ou géographique d'Abydos, loin de là : c'est seulement, sur le rôle principal de cette ville, une courte série de recherches menant à une conclusion qui se dégagera d'une manière plus ou moins nette.

# LE PILOTE DE LA BARQUE OSIRIENNE.

I.

M	. Max Müller a signalé aux chapitres 76 et 104 du Todten-
buch	thébain, à la place du groupe plus récent
Z,	JA 3, 1 le mot abait, abat, abit, A J 3, A ]
-4-4	A J A A, déterminé par un oiseau, ou bebait, bait, J J
多	Ma, Ja Ma, déterminé par un insecte.2

M. Le Page Renouf³ pense que le même nom d'oiseau-abait, donné par extension à une partie du gouvernail de la barque osirienne,⁴ s'appliquait à un personnage mythique, ou ou of the bird-fly, représenté aux pyramides royales dans une barque, sous une forme d'oiseau, ou symbolisé par la barque seule. ¹ Quant à l'insecte bait qui figure au Todtenbuch, ce ne serait pas une guêpe, car le scribe qui l'a dessiné savait parfaitement faire une guêpe, mais a very queer insect.

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, Todtenbuch, ch. 76 et 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zeitschrift, xxx, p. 56-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Proceedings, Juin 1892, p. 396-402.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sarcophage de Horhotep, l. 744.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Id., 1. 468.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Pepi I, l. 79, et Merenra, l. 109 et 706.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Merenra, l. 334, et Pepi II, l. 22 et 852.

Quelques remarques nouvelles, en permettant d'identifier le *bait*, montreront que ces vues sont justes.

Le mot abait a pour déterminatif un petit oiseau à aigrette, (cf. le Copte Rel, upupa), peut-être l'alouette huppée, si ce n'est pas simplement le jeune épervier, tandis que sa variante bait est déterminée par un insecte dont les pattes antérieures dépassent la tête: cette attitude est rendue d'une manière contradictoire, et par conséquent douteuse, au tome premier et au tome second du Todtenbuch de M. Naville, mais en recourant au texte même, le papyrus de Nebseni ou papyrus Burton, qui est au British Museum, toute incertitude disparaît. Voici, d'après une obligeante communication de M. Wallis Budge, la véritable forme donnée au bait par le scribe:

Cette esquisse ne rappelle à l'esprit que le mantis, célèbre dans les légendes africaines.<sup>3</sup> L'oiseau *abait* a donc pour variante un insecte de nom analogue, qui est le mantis: or cet insecte se retrouvant, comme l'aviron-oiseau *abait*, dans la barque d'Abydos, et, au rituel de l'Ap-ro, se combinant avec la guêpe comme ailleurs l'oiseau, il y a là une double raison pour que l'oiseau guêpe ou *bird-fly* soit l'abait.

En premier lieu, une stèle de la 18° dynastie publiée par S. Sharpe<sup>4</sup> et étudiée par M. Wallis Budge,<sup>5</sup> mentionne la navigation des âmes qui s'en allaient chaque année à la Fente d'Abydos, analogue ou identique à la porte de l'enfer ou Ro-sta, dans la barque osirienne, (comme les âmes qui passaient de Gaule en Angleterre, d'après une tradition déjà recueillie par Procope): <sup>6</sup>



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Schiaparelli, Una tomba Egiziana inedita della VIa dinastia, p. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Naville, Todtenbuch, II, pl. 159 et 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Girard de Rialle, Mythologie comparée, I, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Egyptian Inscriptions, I, pl. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Transactions, VIII, part 3, p. 327.

<sup>6</sup> Leroux de Lincy, Le Livre des Légendes, p. 92.

les 17 et 18 du mois de Thoth).1 Le texte ajoute plus loin que l'élu était appelé à la table d'offrandes dans l'oasis nommée l'île de Testes, détail à remarquer.

Ici, le ba est une sauterelle, comme le prouve la copie que M. Wallis Budge a eu la bonté de prendre à nouveau sur le monument, qui est à Londres: ; mais le mantis, qui tient à la fois de la libellule et de la sauterelle, est encore appelé aujourd'hui dans le langage courant, et même dans différents vocabulaires, une sauterelle; à plus forte raison a-t-il été dénommé de la même manière par les anciens. Dans son commentaire sur le Lycurgue d'Eschyle, Aristarque 2 disait du mantis que cette sauterelle, την ἀκρίδα ταύτην, porte malheur aux bêtes qu'elle regarde. Récemment, dans son grand article Mythology de l'Encyclopædia Britannica, M. Andrew Lang a écrit que l'Etre suprême de la mythologie boschimane est la sauterelle appelée mantis.<sup>3</sup> Dans la première partie de Il Libro dei funerali, 1'Ap-ro, M. Schiaparelli a remplacé par une sauterelle le mantis du tombeau de Séti I; et il est visible que la même identification a été faite, comme sur la stèle de Londres, par les Egyptiens, qui divinisaient la sauterelle (et la colombe), suivant Théodoret cité par Champollion dans le manuscrit de son Panthéon.5 Aux pyramides royales, où l'élu prend la forme (Le déterminatif du mot imitatif Keket ressemble beaucoup moins à une courtilière ou à un charançon qu'à une forme de la sauterelle donnée par M. Birch).8

En second lieu, le passage de l'Ap-ro qui vient d'être indiqué mentionne le mantis avec la guêpe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Merenra, l. 67, et Pepi II, l. 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Eschyle, édition Didot, fragment 28 (d'après le scholiaste de Théocrite ad Idyl. X, 18).

<sup>3 2°</sup> partie, II, ch. i, § 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> T. I, p. 42, à la Bibliothèque nationale.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Pepi II, l. 159.

<sup>4</sup> Page 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Pepi II, 1. 860.

<sup>8</sup> Zeitschrift, 1866, p. 86.

Après la purification de la statue funéraire qu'il s'agissait de consacrer par l'ouverture symbolique de la bouche, et avant l'éclairage de cette statue, avait lieu sa présentation au prêtre officiant, le Sem, qui dormait dans la tombe d'un sommeil visité par les dieux, et que réveillait l'arrivée des autres prêtres. (Le texte de l'Ap-ro, aux tombes royales, est divisé en colonnes au bas desquelles se trouvent, nettement séparés du reste par une barre, des espèces de titres, notes, ou mementos).

Ligne 40.2 Le Sem couché s'éveille, et découvre les Amu-Khent.— Les dieux et le couché.

Ligne 41. Le Sem dit: Je vois le père en sa forme complète.3

Ligne 42. Les Amu-Khent disent devant le Sem:

Ligne 43. Il n'existait plus pour toi, ton père.

Ligne 44. Le Sem dit devant les Amu-Khent:

Ligne 45. Le Chasseur de dieu l'avait pris.—Le Chasseur de dieu.

Ligne 46. Les Amu-Khent disent devant le Sem:

Ligne 47. Je vois le père en sa forme complète.—Forme de Mantis.

Ligne 48. Quelles choses! Il n'existait plus,—Guêpes.

Ligne 49. Et il n'y a pas de manque en lui.5—Ombre.

L. 47.	L. 48.	L. 49.
	60 0 	
Tod Da		(et le corps noir et nu).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Stèle C 3 du Louvre, l. 14 et 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Séti I, III, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Zeitschrift, 1881, pl. 4b, l. 26-7. 
<sup>4</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 112, l. 1.

Pour l'avant-dernière ligne, Ramsès III et Tauser ont, au lieu de la leçon de Séti I, , et Rekhmara , et Rekhmara etc., pour , etc.: quel bonheur! Il existe. Cf. A For variant avec , etc.3

Bien que les textes qui parlent de l'abait ne soient pas nombreux, ils permettent cependant de reconstituer à peu près la physionomie de ce type bizarre.

Le mot qui le désigne est un composé, puisqu'on rencontre l'abait seul dans plusieurs cas et même la guêpe seule dans un passage du Todtenbuch thébain, qui joue en même temps sur le nom de l'abait: ô ce portier de la Bat (maison ou caverne) de la Guépe, qui est dans l'Amenti (ch. 41). Si le mot est un composé, c'est aussi un collectif, car on le trouve employé indifféremment au singulier comme au pluriel, et peut-être aussi au duel; l'Ap-ro semble le mettre au pluriel en triplant le signe de la guêpe; le sarcophage de Mentuhotep remplace la phrase du sarcophage de Horhotep, le bird-fly est mon guide, has been been guide, has been guide ,5 c'est le bird-fly qui est mes guides; et de même le chapitre de la barque Neshemt, au tombeau de Horhotep, interpelle l'abait de l'aviron tantôt au singulier et tantôt au pluriel : Horhotep Horhotep salut à toi, Abait du gouvernail de la Neshemt d'Osiris, Horhotep vous connaît en vos formes. On pouvait donc dire un bait-K, par exemple, comme on disait un 🚅 🗐 , d'où il suit que le mot s'appliquait à toute une classe d'êtres.

<sup>1</sup> Virey, Le Tombeau de Rekhmara, pl. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dümichen, Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap, II, pl. 2, 1. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Schiaparelli, Il Libro dei Funerali, parte prima, p. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> L. 468-9. 5 Aelteste Texte, pl. 14, l. 41-2. 6 L. 744.

Cette catégorie est celle des mânes, comme l'indiquerait le mot bait (ou abait avec le préfixe archaïque¹), ressemblant à la la la la la la la statue de l'Ap-ro, qui appelle la statue de l'Ap-ro restait pareille à l'ombre jusqu'aux derniers rites de la cérémonie, ceux de l'habillement, car elle était nue comme l'ombre égyptienne, et c'est par anticipation que les premiers tableaux la montrent armée et vêtue; le titre du livre dans Séti I dit formellement: faire l'Ap-ro dans la salle de l'or à la statue, la première fois : on la place sur du sable dans la salle de l'or, la face au Sud, et elle est nue dans la terre, le jour où ses habits sont derrière elle.³

L'ombre n'était que le décalque dn corps; aussi voit-on souvent l'hiéroglyphe qui la désigne sur la tête de la momie, indice du rapport étroit de ces deux parties de l'homme; dans les différents exemplaires du Todtenbuch, le mot ombre varie même avec le mot corps, <sup>4</sup> et on lit dans un texte cité par M. Birch: <sup>5</sup> vos âmes , se posent sur vos ombres (c'est-à-dire sur vos corps, cf. ), ce qu'illustrent certaines vignettes des papyrus funéraires. Au Livre de l'Enfer, le corps et l'ombre sont en paral-lélisme: "le dieu est venu à son corps, kha-t; le dieu a été remorqué à son ombre, khab-t; tu as rejoint ton corps, t'e-t." (C'est le Soleil infernal ayant à la fois la tête du bélier, c'est-à-dire de l'âme, ba, et le nom du cadavre, af.) L'idée qui ressort de ces textes est celle-ci: l'enfer, tombe collective, devant contenir les momies, qu'on savait néanmoins ailleurs, les momies y furent représentées par les ombres. Lucien peuplait de même son Hadès de squelettes imaginaires, substituts des vrais corps.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Merenra, l. 105, et Pepi II, l. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Merenra, l. 74, et Pepi II, l. 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Schiaparelli, Il Libro dei Funerali, parte prima, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Chapitres 89 et 92, éditions Lepsius et Naville.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Transactions, VIII, part 3, "On the Shade or the Shadow of the Dead," p 394.

<sup>6</sup> Pierret, Etudes Egyptologiques, VIII, p. 13, Stèle C 117 du Louvre.

<sup>7</sup> Naville, Todtenbuch, I, ch. 89, 97 et 104.

<sup>8</sup> Sharpe et Bonomi, Sarcophage de Séti I, pl. 13, B.

Si l'oiseau abait correspondait à l'âme ba,¹ pourquoi la guêpe ne correspondrait-elle pas à l'ombre \( \textstyle{\texts

On remarquera que le mot *ombre* pouvait recevoir la marque du pluriel quand il ne s'agissait que d'une seule personne, par exemple les trois guêpes paraissant former un pluriel dans la rubrique de l'Ap-ro (si la répétition du signe n'est pas là pour la lettre u, comme dans , 10 , 12 etc.) En tout cas, cette rubrique, faisant de l'ombre une sorte d'intermédiaire entre l'âme et le corps, semble bien devoir se comprendre ainsi, d'après les observations qui précèdent: forme de mantis et guêpes (ou guêpe), ce qui est l'ombre, et les trois groupes n'en seraient pour ainsi dire qu'un, ayant l'ombre humaine pour déterminatif, en hiéroglyphes ordinaires

comme la momie, sur la tête.8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Proceedings, Juin 1892, p. 400-2.

<sup>3</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 91, 1. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Birch, On the Shade, p. 393.

<sup>7</sup> On the Shade, planches.

<sup>9</sup> Birch, On the Shade, p. 391.

<sup>1, 7.</sup> 

<sup>4</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 91 et 92.

<sup>6</sup> Champollion, Notices, II, p. 621.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Id., p. 622.

<sup>10</sup> Naville, Todtenbuch, II, ch. 149, k.

<sup>11</sup> Dümichen, Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap, II, pl. 2, l. 40.

<sup>12</sup> Flinders Petrie, Ten Years' Digging in Egypt, p. 73.

Le type bird-fly, fantastique au même titre que le scorpion à deux aiguillons des anciens, serait donc l'ombre, légère et fuyante comme un être ailé, mais identique au corps nu par le contour, quelque chose comme le revenant,  $\epsilon i \hat{c} \omega \lambda o \nu \ d \mu a \nu \rho \hat{o} \nu$ , le corps fluide de l'âme, le périsprit des modernes. Aussi, tout en le représentant par un oiseau et par un insecte (la sauterelle et la colombe de Théodoret, sans doute), les Egyptiens ne perdaient-ils pas de vue le corps qu'il figurait, de même que pour les rekhiu, dont le phonétique est déterminé comme celui de l'abait par l'oie  $^2$  ou par l'oiseau huppé, et dont ils faisaient tantôt des oiseaux et tantôt des hommes. Les Grecs ne concevaient pas les choses autrement lorsqu'ils donnaient à l'âme la forme humaine malgré son nom de  $\psi v \chi \eta$ , comme dans la  $\mathbf{N} \epsilon \kappa v i a$  de l'Odyssée.

La conjecture que le *bird-fly* de l'âme pourrait être le papillon, comme chez les Grecs (et chez plusieurs autres peuples), paraît très plausible : c'est à tout le moins quelque chose de ce genre, un oiseau ou un insecte figurant (par comparaison ou calembour) l'âme-ombre, qui figure le corps ; le vol de l'âme au dessus du corps est indiqué par le papillon lui-même dans un texte de basse époque. <sup>5</sup>

Par contre, en Grèce, l'abeille symbolisait aussi les âmes, que Sophocle comparait à un essaim, 6 comme Virgile : ac veluti in pratis, etc.; 7 suivant Porphyre, les anciens appelaient abeilles les âmes destinées à renaître; 8 Saon fut guidé vers l'antre de Trophonius par un essaim d'abeilles; 9 et ce caractère à demi funèbre de l'insecte a dû être pour quelque chose dans la croyance, si fortement enracinée chez les Romains, qu'un essaim portait malheur là où il s'arrêtait.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Schiaparelli, Il Libro dei Funerali, parte prima, p. 66, et pl. 4, l. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Naville, Todtenbuch, ch. 1, pl. 6, et ch. 18, pl. 78, 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Diodore, I, 87.

<sup>4</sup> Proceedings, Juin 1892, p. 400.

<sup>5</sup> Recueil de travaux, IX, p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> Porphyre, de Antro Nympharum, 18.

<sup>7</sup> Enéide, VI, v. 705.

<sup>8</sup> Porphyre, de Antro Nympharum, 18 et 19.

<sup>9</sup> Pausanias, IX, 40.

L'Ap-ro montre l'abait dans son rôle humain: les autres textes le représentent dans son rôle divin, qui n'est d'ailleurs que l'élargissement du premier. Analogue peut-être au conithocéphale des hypogées royaux 1 et au conithocéphale des hypogées royaux 2 et au conithocéphale des hypogées royaux 3 des Aelteste Texte, 2 l'abait alors n'était plus seulement l'âme et l'ombre, mais le type, le chef, et le guide des mânes.

Aux pyramides royales, entre Tatun qui parfume le pharaon et Ra qui l'appelle, le bird-fly enfante ou façonne, | | l, le royal défunt. Ce texte montre le dieu en barque sous la forme, ou d'un oiseau becquetant, dans Merenra, l. 706, ou d'un épervier dans le même, l. 109, ou d'une oie dans Pepi I, l. 79, ce qui coïncide assez bien avec l'un des cartouches de Merenra, le Meθεσοῦφις de Manéthon, A sees a, et & sees, a nom qui se lirait Batemsaf, et dont le b serait devenu un m, comme dans Khemmis pour Kheb et Méroé pour Béroua; l'on aurait encore ici l'abait protecteur et pilote représenté par différents oiseaux, ce dont il ne faut pas s'étonner, car les Egyptiens se plaisaient à ces réunions de symboles; ils faisaient dire par exemple à l'élu, au sujet d'un des endroits sacrés d'Abydos : je vole en épervierbak, je glousse en oie-smen, et je me pose sur cette Route du bassin, I a a b M a II, 4 ou 5: je suis l'oiseau-nenu sur la Route sans fin, PSITABIL.

Les autres textes mentionnant le bird-fly présentent le personnage sous un même aspect que les pyramides royales, c'est-àdire qu'ils font de lui une sorte d'Hermès psychopompe ou de Charon égyptien.

Les deux chapitres du *Todtenbuch* où on le rencontre sont ainsi conçus:—

Chapitre 76.—Formule pour prendre toutes les formes qu'on veut. Pentre dans le palais du roi (Osiris); l'Abait m'amène. Salut à toi,

<sup>1</sup> Champollion, Notices, II, p. 600.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pl. 26, l. 8; cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 101, l. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Daressy, Recueil de travaux, XI, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Todtenbuch, édition Naville, ch. 1, 1. 49.

<sup>5</sup> id., h.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pepi I, 1. 646 et 651.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Pierret, Etudes égyptologiques, I, p. 34.

qui voles au ciel pour éclairer les étoiles. Je veille sur la mitre.\(^1\) C'est moi. Je prospère à jamais. Dieu grand; livre-moi le passage par où je pénétrerai.

Chapitre 104.—Formule pour s'asseoir entre les grands dieux. Je m'assieds entre les grands dieux, je passe par l'endroit de la barque-sekti (un des aspects de la nef solaire, à laquelle on identifiait la Neshemt<sup>2</sup>); l'Abait m'amène pour voir les grands dieux qui sont dans le monde souterrain. Je suis un de ceux dont la parole est infaillible en leur présence.—Tu es pur.

Au sarcophage de Horhotep, chapitre d'amener la barque, l. 468-9, l'élu questionné sur son guide vers l'Elysée répond : mon guide est le bird-fly, ou, d'après la variante des Aelteste Texte, le bird-fly, c'est mes guides.

Enfin, dans la barque même, une partie du gouvernail est appelée l'oiseau abait, et le rôle de pilote des âmes qu'avait l'abait explique bien pourquoi le gouvernail de la nef des âmes a reçu ce nom. C'est par une confusion d'autant plus naturelle entre la rame et le rameur, que les Egyptiens personnifiaient toutes les parties de chaque navire divin, dont l'ensemble s'identifiait souvent avec son dieu, comme on l'a vu pour le bird-fly. La Neshemt elle-même était une déesse, et avait des prêtres. Les rites du voyage réel ou fictif des morts à Abydos, lors des funérailles, pour connaître les choses d'Abydos, comportaient l'adoration des poteaux où l'on attachait la proue et la poupe des barques.

Quand donc l'élu est dit naviguer en ba-sauterelle d'Abydos, cette expression peut l'assimiler aussi bien au gouvernail qu'au conducteur de la Neshemt. Il se représente ailleurs comme l'aviron du Soleil, dont on le voit souvent diriger la barque, s

De suis l'aviron du Loteil qui passe

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 92, 1. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dendérah IV, 74, b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 58, 99 et 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Mariette, Abydos, III, p. 26, 426 et 451.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Id., III, p. 493.

<sup>6</sup> Champollion, Notices, II, 404.

<sup>7</sup> Virey, Le Tombeau de Rekhmara, pl. 26; cf. Champollion, Notices, II, p. 620.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Pépi II, l. 857; Todtenbuch, ch. 130, l. 10, ch. 49 b, et passim; Pierret, Etudes Egyptologiques, I, p. 54; etc.

en barque par lui ses vieillards, je suis la baguette de la Destinée qui fait marcher par elle la barque des aînés, etc. Au papyrus No. 2 de Berlin, Meruitens comparé à Thoth est appelé le gouvernail de la terre entière, d'après la traduction de M. Chabas, © C, pilote<sup>3</sup>).

Dans un papyrus magique du British Museum, le nom de bâton ou de rame du lac est donné à Horus, et c'est Horus qui manœuvre d'habitude, dans la barque divine, les deux grands avirons de l'arrière, lesquels portent la tête d'épervier d'Horus lui-même à leur extrémité supérieure là où se trouvait sans doute aussi, dans la Neshemt, la tête de l'abait, dit l'æil, 5 cet œil déesse Mert qui accompagnait le mort amenant la nef des âmes; la tête du pharaon, dans le vaisseau de l'autre monde qui porte Ramsès III, termine pareillement les avirons.

La même qualification de bâton ou de rame, formait un des titres de la hiérarchie égyptienne; s'il existait une fonction de A, porteur de bâton, ou peut-être d'enseigne (f. ), et de porteur de rame, bai du roi, une autre charge était celle de bâton du roi dans les temples, sous les Ptolémées, et, ou para du Rekhi, c'est-à-dire du pharaon; le pharaon était l'homme ou le Rekhi suprême, puisque, au

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sarcophage de Horhotep, l. 329 et 311-2; cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 63, l. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zeitschrift, 1864, p. 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mariette, Abydos, III, p. 398.

<sup>4</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 15, l. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Id., édition Naville, II, ch. 99, pl. 226.

<sup>6</sup> Id., ch. 58 et 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Rosellini, II, pl. 107-8; et Wilkinson, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, édition Birch, II, pl. 13, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Dendérah, III, 37, h; cf. id., IV, 23.

<sup>9</sup> Brugsch, Supplément au Dictionnaire, p. 422.

<sup>10</sup> Stèle d'Imhotep, fils de Khahap, l. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Lepsius, Auswahl, pl. 16.

Ramesséum, Ramsès II est que, à Philæ, sous Auguste, les rois d'Egypte sont appelés , et que la reine est assez souvent dite la Rekhit, aux basses époques, comme Hathor dans son protocole royal.

#### III.

L'oiseau Rekhi pourrait être l'oiseau Abait sous un autre nom: le premier est exactement semblable au deuxième; l'épervier par excellence, Horus, qu'un nom saîte paraît identifier avec le bird-fly, set le guide des Rekhiu; les Rekhiu, ou certains Rekhiu ont pour protecteur ou chef, d'après les Pyramides royales, un dieu ses deux groupes de Rekhiu, ou ses deux groupes de Rekhiu, sil y avait dans l'enfer une porte du retour des Rekhiu; et l'idée du Rekhi en barque est quelquefois suggérée par les textes ou les tableaux: ainsi la nef menant Ramsès III au paradis est décorée de Rekhiu peints sur la voile, et une barque sacrée de l'ancien Empire s'appelle s' ces rapports entre l'Abait et le Rekhi ont peut-être leur valeur, mais il faudrait des documents plus précis pour qu'il fût permis de se prononcer.

Il n'est pas plus certain qu'on doive assimiler le dieu *abait* ou *bebait* au dieu Baba, Babi, Babou, Bai, 11 personnage dont le *Todtenbuch* fait un chien qui garde le bassin infernal, 12 et que divers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Champollion, Notices. 1, p. 882; cf. id. I, p. 341, et II, p. 71, 81 et 232.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Id., 1, p. 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> J. de Rougé, Edfou, II, pl. 132; Denkmäler, IV, pl. 82, b, l. 1; etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Dendérah, I, pl. 29, a, 59, a, 79, a, et II, 26, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mariette, Abydos, III, p. 469.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Teti, l. 282; Champollion, Notices, II, p. 345; etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Pepi I, l. 648 et 720, et Merenra, l. 748-9.

<sup>8</sup> Merenra, l. 65.

<sup>9</sup> Wilkinson, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, édition Birch, t. II, pl. 13, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Denkmäler, II, pl. 18 et 22.

Unas, l. 644 et 647; Sarcophage de Horhotep, l. 446; etc.

<sup>12</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 17, l. 67; cf. id., ch. 125, l. 36, et édit. Naville, II, pl. 313.

documents disent fils aîné d'Osiris,¹ ou juge des morts à Héracléopolis, avec Osiris et Shu,² ou guide des heures,³ ou servant de type à l'une des parties du corps,⁴ ou né de la déesse Akhemt, ↓ ♠ ♠ ♠, ⁵ ou même, en un sens, analogue à Khem dont son hiéroglyphe semble joindre le fouet à la mitre osirienne, ♠ ♠ . ⁶ Malgré ces

affiliations, Baba, maître des ténèbres,<sup>7</sup> monstre que l'on conjurait,<sup>8</sup> dévorateur des entrailles des grands,<sup>9</sup> auteur de la térébentine produite par le saignement de son nez,<sup>10</sup> etc., était profondément typhonien, comme l'ont compris les Grecs,<sup>11</sup> et comme le montre bien un texte du moyen Empire, au sarcophage de Horhotep, chapitre d'amener la barque, l. 437-440.<sup>12</sup>

Ce caractère hostile concorde assez mal avec les données que l'on a sur l'abait psychopompe, et, de plus, le nom du Baba, qui ressemble bien à celui de la caverne, baba, n'est jamais déterminé par l'oiseau ou l'insecte, deux objections importantes.

On pourrait répondre à la première que le mantis, insecte particulièrement vorace, a un double aspect, malfaisant et bienfaisant, dans les fables africaines, de même que le revenant chez tous les peuples, en sorte qu'il n'y a pas d'impossibilité non plus, théoriquement, à ce que l'abait et l'ombre aient eu un rôle bon et mauvais, en Egypte. Ce seraient alors, dans leur mauvais rôle, le Babys-Typhon triomphant d'Osiris, d'après les traditions d'Abydos, 13 et la guêpe servant d'hieroglyphe au mot meurtrier, ou au sang malfaisant du crocodile (le saignement de nez de Baba), d'après Horapollon. 14

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1 Todtenbuch, ch. 63, l. 2.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Id.*, ch. 18, l. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Unas, 1. 643–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Pepi I, l. 568, et Aelteste Texte, pl. 11, 1. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Unas, l. 644-5; cf. Sarcophage de Horhotep, l. 413-4; et Dümichen, Der Grabpalast, I, 2° partie, p. 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Froceedings, Juin, 1886, p. 198; cf. Sarcophage de Horhotep, l. 446.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Unas, l. 646–7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Pepi I, l. 604.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 125, l. 36; cf. id., ch. 17, l. 64-8.

<sup>10</sup> Birch, Revue Archéologique, 1863, p. 121.

<sup>11</sup> De Iside et Osiride, 62, et Athénée, XV, 7.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Aelteste Texte, Sarcophage de Mentuhotep, pl. 12, l. 9-12.

<sup>13</sup> Athénée, XV, 7.

<sup>14</sup> II, 24.

La seconde objection serait aussi contrebalancée, non seulement par le passage des pyramides royales où Babu, A , est adjuré de se retirer après avoir passé le pharaon en barque, hais encore par le chapitre 63 du *Todtenbuch* (version A de l'édition Naville):

Formule pour boire de l'eau et ne pas être brûlé par le feu.—O taureau de l'Ament, je guide vers toi. Je suis cet aviron de Ra qui passe en barque par lui les anciens. Que je ne sois pas brûlé, que je ne sois pas consumé. Je suis Baba, le premier fils d'Osiris: la purification de chaque dieu est dans son æil à Héliopolis (cf. Aïn Schams). Je suis le premier enfant d'Osiris, l'aîné, le grand preneur, qui se repose. La prospérité d'Osiris est son nom. Il délivre, et tu vis par lui.²

On voit que le chapitre 63 assimile l'élu à la rame et au Baba, et, si le Baba ne se trouve pas par là même assimilé à la rame (comme l'abait), la coïncidence est véritablement étrange. Malheureusement, quelques analogies indirectes ne suffisent pas, en pareille matière, pour amener à confondre deux types d'apparence aussi distincte, qui ont pu n'avoir que des points de contact.

On ne saurait, encore moins, voir l'abait dans le ba ou sacred boat , qui paraît bien désigner une barque de transport, ni dans le bat du passage que voici, des pyramides royales: Merira est le Vénérable, Merira est le Sistre à deux faces, Pepi est Celui qui délivre, et il se délivre lui-même de tout mal. Que le mot bat (dont le déterminatif n'a pas l'édicule qui figure ici entre les deux cornes) ait le sens de maillet , et de sceptre, abt, car le sistre chassait Typhon, ou de fétiche, chose-esprit, l'objet représenté dans ce texte n'en est pas moins la forme archaïque du sistre. On le retrouve à la

p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pepi I, 1. 604; cf. Denk., IV, pl. 46 a, 1. 32.

Proceedings, Juin, 1892, p. 400.
 Pepi I, l. 267-8; cf. Merenra, l. 480.
 Pierret, Vocabulaire hiéroglyphique, p. 125; Simeone Levi, Vocabularie geroglifico-copto-ebraico, t. II, p. 120; et Brugsch, Supplément au Dictionnaire,

<sup>7</sup> Plutarque, de Iside et Osiride, 63.

S'il reste douteux que l'abait soit l'oiseau rekhi ou le dieu Baba, et s'il diffère de la barque ba comme du fétiche bat, les croyances que résume son nom paraissent néanmoins avoir laissé quelques traces. Il s'agit en définitive de la conduite des âmes (bau, khebtu), par un oiseau leur pareil vers les Symplégades égyptiennes, ou la Fente d'Abydos, de sorte qu'on peut voir là (les Egyptiens aimant assez à joindre les idées de voguer et de voler), l'origine de l'émigration fabuleuse des éperviers d'Egypte, et par suite de la fameuse légende du Mont des Oiseaux, Gebel el Taïr.

D'après cette légende, dont la forme et le lieu ont souvent changé, il existe en Egypte une montagne des oiseaux, ou de la grotte, <sup>12</sup> qui a une gorge servant "tous les ans, à un jour fixe," de rendez-vous à une foule d'oiseaux. Suivant Quatremère, <sup>13</sup> les historiens arabes contaient que ces oiseaux, appelés *boukir*, étaient attirés par un

<sup>1</sup> Dendérah, I, pl. 25, l. 3, et IV, pl. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mariette, *Mastahas*, p. 466-7; et J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. 304.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Horhotep, 1. 455.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Denkmäler. II, pl. 81; J. de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, pl. 56; Mastabas, p. 530; Champollion, Notices, II, p. 434; Pierret, Etudes égyptologiques, VIII, p. 130; etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Dendérah, I, pl. 28; cf. Abydos, II, pl. 39, et III, p. 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> J. Marquardt, le Culte chez les Romains, II, les Sodales Augustales.

<sup>7</sup> Dendérah, I, pl. 28; cf. stèle C. 15 du Louvre.

<sup>8</sup> De Iside et Osiride, 63.

<sup>9</sup> Brugsch, Dictionnaire, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Birch, Zeitschrift, 1864, p. 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Pepi I, l. 390; Pepi II, l. 916; Horhotep, l. 730, 731; etc.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, 149, g, édition Naville.

<sup>13</sup> Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Egypte, t. I, p. 29-38.

talisman, et venaient successivement introduire leur bec dans une fente de la montagne. La fente se refermait sur l'un d'eux, et les autres s'envolaient (vers l'intérieur de l'Afrique).¹ L'emplacement tantôt occidental et tantôt oriental de la montagne, variait entre les environs d'Aschmounéin, de Siout et d'Akhmin (mais toujours dans le voisinage d'un couvent), c'est-à-dire qu'il flottait dans la partie de l'Egypte où le fleuve est resserré entre les deux montagnes qui le bordent. D'après la Description de l'Egypte, les oiseaux sont des ramiers noirs, appelés Segaou el-Hadd, nom qui indiquerait pourtant une petite espèce d'épervier.²

Le départ des éperviers est raconté par Elien: 3 au commencement du printemps ils s'en allaient (à peu près comme les colombes de l'Eryx 4), en Libye, sous la conduite de deux des leurs, dans des îles où ils faisaient leurs nids et d'où ils ramenaient leurs petits. Le même auteur parle aussi de deux corbeaux consacrés dans la montagne à l'Apollon de Coptos, 5 lequel était Horus-Khem, A Coptos, oqui, sous le nom d'Horus de Shent, ou de Coptos, participait aux fêtes d'Abydos.7 Les deux corbeaux sont probablement une variante des deux éperviers8 du sud et du nord 9 figurant le nome Coptite, dont le dieu Khem présidait à une des fêtes funéraires, la sortie de Khem, possédait une Neshemt comme Osiris, 10 était souvent mentionné à Abydos, était adoré aux gorges conduisant comme Abydos hors de l'Egypte, était le maître des Mat'aiu,11 et avait son nid dans l'oasis dite l'île de Testes,12 où s'en allaient les mânes, comme nous l'apprend la stèle de Londres. 13 Si ces éperviers et ces corbeaux correspondaient aux deux et aux deux , emblèmes de l'âme, 14

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<sup>1</sup> Guide Joanne, Egypte, p. 468.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Heptanomide, ch. xvi, § 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> De Natura Animalium, II, 43.

<sup>4</sup> Id., IV, 2, et Variæ Historiæ, I, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> De Natura Animalium, VII, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> J. de Rougé, Inscriptions Géographiques d'Edfou, pl. 139; cf. Pepi II, l. 738.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Stèle du Louvre, C. 3, 1, 14 et 15; cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 17, 1. 61-3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Horapollon, I, 8.

<sup>9</sup> Dendérah, IV, pl. 33.

<sup>10</sup> J. de Rougé, Revue Archéologique, 1865, p. 334.

<sup>11</sup> Mariette, Papyrus de Boulaq, II, pl. 11, l. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Chabas, Papyrus Magique Harris, pl. 6, l. 11-13.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Brugsch, Dictionnaire Géographique, p. 1001.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Champollion, Notices, II, p. 514; et Horapollon, I, 7.

qui représentent l'abait aux pyramides royales (cf. comme couples de conducteurs les deux chacals Ap-uatu, et les deux loups qui menèrent Rampsinit aux enfers), on s'expliquerait pourquoi la fable du Mont des Oiseaux a hanté les parages d'Akhmin, une des villes de Khem, qui aurait hérité avec Coptos des traditions d'Abydos déchue,¹ en les adaptant aux siennes. Aujourd'hui, la légende est fixée près de Minieh, et l'antique région ou porte de la Fente, U-pek, dont le site se trouvait assez éloigné du Nil, est tombée dans le même oubli qu'Abydos.

Par une fortune analogue, le Mantis a cédé aussi la place à l'oiseau dans les croyances locales, mais son caractère de guide reste fort explicable. Il existe des oiseaux qu'on appelle *indicateurs*, et le mantis a une faculté du même genre que la leur, du moins en apparence: en effet, une des particularités de cet insecte, objet de superstitions chez presque tous les peuples, est qu'il étend souvent ses pattes antérieures à droite ou à gauche comme s'il désignait une direction, et de là vient qu'on a cru, en Provence comme en Angleterre, par exemple, qu'il enseignait le chemin aux passants.

En somme, il y avait à apprécier le raisonnement suivant : l'abaitoiseau est parfois un gouvernail de barque, donc l'oiseau-guêpe en barque est l'abait, et cette conjecture se trouve confirmée ainsi : le bait-mantis est une variante de l'abait-oiseau, et il y a un mantisguêpe, donc le mantis-guêpe est aussi une variante de l'oiseau-guêpe, qui par là se ramène encore à l'abait.

L'abait ou bait, serait la forme spiritualisée du corps nu, ou l'ombre, le spectre, le revenant; devenu le type des ombres, et représenté par un dieu, une barque, ou un aviron, il servait de guide aux âmes s'en allant dans l'autre monde par la Fente d'Abydos, et c'est de cette émigration que vient sans doute la légende du Mont des Oiseaux.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Strabon. XVII, 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Blanchard, Métamorphoses des Insectes, p. 574.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 7th February, 1893, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*). "The Book of the Dead."—Translation and Commentary (continuation).

REV. A. Löwy:-"Notes on a Babylonian Brick."

[N.B.—The plates for the December number of the *Proceedings*, and those for the present number, will be issued in February.—W.H.R.]



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# **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

Fourth Meeting, 7th February, 1893.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President,

IN THE CHAIR,

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Major R. H. Brown, R.E. The Fayûm and Lake Mœris, with illustrations. London. 4to. 1892.

From Walter L. Nash:—The Pharaoh of the Exodus, an examination of the modern systems of Egyptian Chronology. By D. W. Nash. London. 8vo. 1863.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittîm o Hethei e delle loro migrazioni, Chap. XXIII.

Estratto dalla Civiltà Cattolica. Serie XV. Vol. V. 1893.

M

From the Author:—Rev. A. Löwy. Half a Century of Progress in the Knowledge and Practice of Judaism. 1892.

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[No. cxIII.]

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 10th January, 1893, and elected Members of the Society:—

Rev. Walter William Crump, B.A., Marlborough House, Cottenham, Cambridge.

Rev. A. W. Greenup, Leighton Bromeswold, near Huntingdon.

Rev. Owen J. Jones, The Old Meeting Parsonage, West Hill, Mansfield, Notts.

Rev. Charles Lerebourg, Vicaire de Saint Philippe du Roule, 164, Faubourg Saint Honoré, Paris.

Miss Agnes L. Money, Stodham Park, East Liss, Hants.

Henry Spicer, B.A. (Lond.), F.L.S., F.G.S., 14, Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 7th March, 1893:—

Rev. A. Schmitz, Curate Herzogenrathe, bei Aachen, Germany.

Harry R. G. Inglis, 20, Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh.

Pundit S. E. Gopalacharlu, South Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras, India,

Major David Fitzgerald Downing, R.A., The Arsenal, Woolwich. Professor William Matthew Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., 32, Torrington Square, W.C.

Miss Bradbury, Rivers Vale, Ashton-under-Lyne.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. James Marshall, and the President.

A Paper was read by the Rev. A. Löwy, "Note on a Babylonian Brick," which will appear in the next number of the *Proceedings*.

Thanks were returned for these Communications.



## BOOK OF THE DEAD.



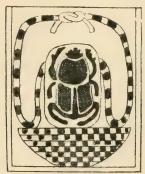
CHAPTER XXVIII.
Papyrus, Brocklehurst, II.



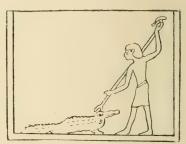
CHAPTER XXVIII.
Papyrus, Musée du
Louvre, III, 93.



CHAPTERS XXVI—XXIX. Papyrus, Berlin Museum, 22.



CHAPTER XXX.
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, III, 93.



CHAPTER XXXI.
Papyrus, Musée du Louvre, III, 89.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

Papyrus, Leyden Museum, IV.



CHAPTER XXXVI.
Papyrus, Leyden Museum, IV.

#### PLATE XII.

## BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER XXXVI.

Papyrus, Berlin Museum, 2.



CHAPTER XXXVII.
Papyrus, Cairo, Bulaq, 21.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Papyrus, Musée du Louvre,
Cat. des Médailles.



Papyrus, Leyden Museum, V.



CHAPTER XXXIX. **Pyramid of Saqâra, Grab 24.** LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bl 266.



### BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

#### CHAPTER XXXI.

Chapter whereby the Crocodiles are repulsed who come to carry off the Words of Power from a person in the Netherworld.

Back, in retreat! Back, Crocodile Sui! Come not against me, who live by the Words of Power (1).

I utter (2) that Name of the great god, who granteth that two of his Messengers\* should come; the name of one is *Batta* (3), and the name of the other is *Thine Aspect is Fixed Law* (4).

Heaven determineth (5) its hour; my Word of Power determineth all that which concerneth it; and my mouth determineth my Word of Power. I eat, and my teeth are like flint, and my grinders are like the Cliff of Tuf (6).

O thou who art sitting (7) with a watchful eye against this my Word of Power; do not thou carry it off, O Crocodile who livest by thine own Word of Power.

#### NOTES.

This chapter is but rarely found in the more ancient collections. It was on the coffin of Queen Mentuhotep, but M. Naville gives the readings of only two early papyri. The later recensions add a text which we shall find later on in chapter 69, and which has no connection whatever with the present chapter.

- 1. The Words of Power are supplied to the deceased by Thoth in chapter 23.
- 2. The Turin text and those which agree with it read "Do not thou utter," as if the Crocodile were about to use the Word of Power. I read \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) was first corrupted into \( \)

<sup>\*</sup> See chapter 29, note 1.

- 3. This name was changed in the later texts to the more familiar one of the divine Ape  $\iint_{-\infty}^{+\infty} Benit$ .
- 4. Fixed Law, or III. The central idea of theology in the Book of the Dead is that of Regularity, whether in permanence or change. Those things alone are divine which abide unceasingly or which recur in accordance with undeviating rule.
- 5. Determineth. The word  $\frac{Q}{Q}$  here, as in other places, has the sense of circumscribing, as in a circuit  $\frac{Q}{Q}$ , prescribing the limits, fixing and determining.
- 6. The Cliff of Tuf  $\cong$   $\otimes$ , literally 'his cliff,' namely of Anubis, in allusion to his frequent title  $\bigcap^{\circ}$   $\cong$  .
- 7. Sitting. Here follow Pc and the papyri generally in reading Ca seems to have been thinking of Ca seems to have been thinking of Ca of a well-known magic text (Unas, 320).

#### CHAPTER XXXII.

Chapter whereby the Crocodiles are repulsed who come to carry off the Words of Power from the glorified in the Netherworld.

Osiris standeth up upon his feet (1); his company of gods raise him up.

O Son who conversest with thy father, do thou protect this Great one from these four (2) crocodiles here who devour the dead and live by the Words of Power.

I know them by their names and their way of living, and it is I who protect his own father from them.

Back, thou Crocodile of the West, who livest on the Setting Stars (3). What thou execratest is upon me. Thou hast devoured the head of Osiris, but I am Rā (4).

Back, thou Crocodile of the East, who livest upon those who devour their own foulness. What thou execratest is upon me. I have come, and I am Osiris.

Back, thou Crocodile of the South, who livest upon impurities. What thou execratest is upon me. Let not the red flame be upon thee. For I am Septu (5).

Back, thou Crocodile of the North, who livest upon that which lieth between the hours (6). What thou execratest is upon me. Let not thy fiery water be inflicted upon me. [For I am Tmu (7).]

All things which exist are in my grasp, and those depend upon me which are not yet.

I am arrayed and equipped with thy Words of Power, O Rā; with that which is above and with that which is below me.

I have received increase of length and depth, and fulness of breathing within the domain of my father, the Great one.

He hath given to me that beautiful Amenta in which the living are destroyed. But strong is its possessor though he faint in it daily.

My face is unveiled, and my heart is in its place.

The Uræus is upon me daily.

I am Rā, who protecteth himself, and no evil things can over-throw me.

#### Notes.

This chapter is in even worse condition than the one which precedes it. There are a few scraps of it on a coffin at St. Petersburg which M. Golenischeff assigns to the earliest period. The only early MS. which is of any use, Ba, the Berlin papyrus of Nechtuamon, is here in a very mutilated condition, as may be seen on referring to M. Naville's edition.

- 1. Osiris standeth up upon his feet. So Ba; but the coffin at St. Petersburg lends its support to the text of Bekenrenef (of the 26th Dynasty), which opens the chapter with the name of a crocodile
- belly"! "Let the Great one fall upon his
- 2. The ancient text had only four crocodiles, and only four are mentioned in the text of Bekenrenef. The Turin text speaks of eight; two for each of the cardinal points. But the Saitic text already has two invocations instead of one for each crocodile.
- 3. The sense of this myth is obvious. Every star which sets is supposed to be swallowed by the Crocodile of the West. It was stated in Note 3 to chapter 15 that the

All these stars are supposed as divinities to aid in the navigation of the Bark of Rā. The Egyptians could not have had a correct planetary theory (which only became possible through Kepler), but they understood at least that the motions of the planets were *regular*, and that they depended upon the Sun. Eudoxus is reported to have derived the data for his theory from his Egyptian instructors.

4. Instead of Rā the name of Sut is found in the later texts. Bekenrenef has  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$ .

- 6. The text is here hopelessly corrupt. M. Pierret has 'offrande,' which he most probably derives from \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, a reading found in some papyri. But Ba, our oldest authority, has \_\_\_\_\_\_\_, and Bekenrenef has \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, \[ \begin{array}{c} \Bar{1} \Bar{2} \
- 7. [I am Tmu.] These words are not in Ba, but they occur in all other copies, and the omission of the divine name which stops the crocodile is an evident fault.
- \* Brugsch has produced excellent evidence for the supposition that  $\iint$   $\Pi$  or Q  $\Pi$  signifies the two turnings of the Sun, that is at the solstices,  $\Pi$  Q being the southern solstice and  $\Pi$  Q the northern.

The chapter ends here, and what follows is an addition for which our earliest authority is that of Bekenrenef. But even this text is already corrupt, and requires to be corrected by more recent ones.

#### CHAPTER XXXIII.

# Chapter whereby all Serpents are kept back.

Oh serpent Rerek, advance not! Here are the gods Seb and Shu!

Stop! or thou shalt eat the rat which  $R\bar{a}$  execrateth, and gnaw the bones of a putrid she-cat.

#### NOTE.

This chapter is often found in coffins. There is a chapter much resembling it in the tomb of Horhotep (line 364), at least as regards the opening words. It addresses Rerek and tells him that Shu and another deity are coming, and that the speaker is Horus. No allusion, however, is made to the dead rat and cat. These typify the impurities and abominations to which the damned are liable in the world to come.

#### CHAPTER XXXIV.

Chapter whereby a person is not devoured by the dweller in the shrine (1).

O Uræus! I am the Flame which shineth, and which openeth out eternity (2), the column of Tenpua (3) [otherwise said—the column on which are blossoming plants.]

Away from me! I am the Lynx goddess (4).

#### Notes.

I. It is not possible to say what is here actually meant by hat. Every word almost in this tiny chapter was a puzzle to the Egyptian scribes, who altered the text in a hundred ways. The Turin text provides against the persons being bitten by the Eater of the head, — , instead of — , instead of — as even Bekenrenef has it.

- 2. Open out Eternity . This is the oldest and most approved reading even in later times. But in Pe the flame 'shineth on the brow of the Glorified ones.'
- 3. A quite unknown deity and most probably a mere blunder. The MS. which contains it, Ca, suggests another reading Tenpua with , the determinative of plants. This not proving satisfactory, and the first renpit was substituted. But all this was mere conjectural emendation.
- 4. The Lynx goddess, Maftit. The name of this deity is generally translated Lynx, and it is certainly applied to an animal of the feline species closely resembling the cat. But the notion expressed by the name is that of swift speed A. (See Dümichen, Rec. IV, 100, where this verb is in parallel with others of the same sense.)

This deity is again mentioned in the 39th chapter as taking part in the conflict with the dragon of darkness, and it is named in the strange magic formulæ already found in the Pyramid texts. She is called (Teta 310), and she apparently defends the deceased (ib., l. 303) against two serpent divinities, one of whom at least, Teser-tepu (praeclaro capite), is known to us as one of the forty-two assessors of Osiris (Todtenbuch, 125-33).

## CHAPTER XXXV.

Chapter whereby the person is not devoured by a Serpent in the Netherworld.

Oh Shu, here is Tattu, and conversely, under the wig (1) of Hathor. They scent (2) Osiris.

Here is the one who is to devour me. They wait apart (3). The serpent Seksek passeth over me.

Here are wormwood bruised (4) and reeds.

Osiris is he who prayeth that he may be buried.

The eyes of the Great One are bent down, and he doth for thee the work of cleansing (5); marking out what is conformable to law and balancing the issues (6).

#### Notes.

The translator of this chapter cannot pretend to do more than give an accurate meaning to each word. The true sense of the chapter must have been lost when the earliest copies known to us were written.

- I. Wig, . The head-dress of the gods is one of the mythical forms of representing the light cloud at sunrise or sunset, in which the deity is *pileatus*.
- 2. Scent, The Egyptian word is also used for nursing, putting to sleep, probably through influencing the breathing. The nose as a determinative is used in the different senses of the word.
- 3. They wait apart. The early MSS. do not agree here in a single word, and they defy translation. The later MSS. are scarcely less discordant. is to alight, rest, and this must also be the meaning of separating.
- 4. Bruised, or trodden. There being no rational context it is impossible to fix the sense of a word like with the may mean either guard or bruise by beating or treading down.
- 5. Cleansing or in the result of the process is certainly cleansing, but the operation itself is generally supposed to be washing. This agrees with the Coptic past a fuller, of which the old Egyptian form is in many countries thought to be one of the most important duties of washerwomen. With this sense of the word I would connect the names Rechit given to Isis and Nephthys, as signifying 'mourners.' Compare the Greek τύπτεσθαί τινα, κόπτεσθαί τινα, το mourn a person, and the Latin plangere.

A well known passage in Cicero's *Topics* (93, c. 35) may be quoted here: "Refutatio accusationis, in quae est depositio criminis, Graece στάσις dicitur, Latine *status* appelletur: in quo insistit, quasi ad repugnandum congressa defensio."

Perhaps the passage in chapter 30 B, in which "the divine ministrants are said to deal with a man" according to his may have reference to the circumstances of his life.

Chapters like this, however worthless in themselves, contain small fragments highly illustrative of the ideas of the Egyptians at an extremely remote period.

#### CHAPTER XXXVI.

# Chapter whereby the Apshait is kept back.

Away from me, thou with parted lips! I am Chnemu, the Lord of Shennsu, who am bringing the words of the gods to Rā. And I announce the news to Nebes.

#### NOTE.

The insect called first first apsai or first apsai

#### CHAPTER XXXVII.

Chapter whereby the Merta goddesses are kept back.

Hail ye Pair of goddesses Merta, Sister Pair, Merta!(1) I inform you of my Words of Power.

It is I who rise up from the Sektit boat. I am Horus the son of Isis, and I am come to see my father, Osiris.

#### NOTE.

The Pair of goddesses consists of Isis and Nephthys Reheta, as the word is written at Denderah.

Merta signifies two eyes.



THE SUPERLINEAR PUNCTUATION, ITS ORIGIN, THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, AND ITS RELATION TO OTHER SEMITIC SYSTEMS OF PUNCTUATION.

# By G. MARGOLIOUTH (British Museum).

#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

- I. The subject and scope of this treatise are fully and clearly indicated in its title. It must be remarked, however, that the order of the different parts as given there follows what may be called an ideal sequence, whilst in the treatise itself a practical arrangement will be adopted. From an ideal point of view, the origin of a system comes first, and then the consideration of the different stages of its development; but for practical purposes it is much more serviceable in this case first of all to fix our attention on the system of punctuation which forms the subject of this treatise, and to take in the characteristics exhibited in the different forms in which it appears, and then to proceed with the argument on its origin and its relation to Semitic systems of punctuation in general. This treatise will therefore be divided into the following two parts:— I. The superlinear punctuation in the different stages of its development. II. The origin of this vowel-system, and its relation to other Semitic systems of punctuation.
- 2. The "rationale" for the arrangement of the subject in the first part and for many statements in its different sections must, however, as the nature of the case requires, be sought in the conclusions at which the student is expected to arrive after having read through the second part of the treatise. This could not be otherwise, because the author could not but look upon the various questions connected with the first part of his subject in the light thrown upon them by the definite results at which he had arrived with regard to the problems that are discussed in the second part.

But great care will be taken to present the "phoenomena" of the system itself in such a manner as to make it profitable to the student independently of the conclusions aimed at in the second part, and the author will also be careful to indicate with sufficient force and clearness the arguments which may be advanced in favour of the theories that are opposed to his own.

#### PART I.

The superlinear punctuation in the different stages of its development.

- § 1. There are two principal forms in which the superlinear punctuation is known to us. The oldest known MSS, which exhibit the "simple" form of this punctuation are the British Museum MSS. Or. 1467 and 2363,\* and the chief representative of what may be called the superlinear "composite" form is the "Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus,"† containing the "Prophetae Posteriores."
- § 2. The simple system of punctuation as exhibited in Or. 1467 and 2363 will be shown in the following table:—

Name of Sign.	Sublinear Form.‡	Superlinear Form.
רפה	ñ	$\preceq$
שוא נע חטף פתח הטף קמץ) חטף סגול	רְבְּבְּבֶ	Ē

<sup>\*</sup> Professor Merx's Chrestomathia Targumica (Porta Ling. Orient., Pars VIII) is very largely drawn from these two MSS., and a page of Or. 1467 is exhibited in Plate LIV of the Palæographical Society's Oriental Series. They are both of the 11th or 12th century.

<sup>†</sup> See Dr. H. Strack's photographic facsimile edition, St. Petersburg, 1876.

<sup>‡</sup> أم and أم being the only exceptions, the ordinary forms, usually attributed to the school of Tiberias, may not unfitly be styled "sublinear," in contradistinction to the "superlinear" system.

<sup>§</sup> The תפר, which is an important feature in Or. 1467 and 2363, is altogether omitted in Merx's Chrestomathy.

י קרם וו וו

Name of Sign.	Sublinear Form.	Superlinear Form
קמץ גדול קמץ חטוף חטף קמץ	*( <sup>7</sup> ;) <sup>7</sup>	ڎۘ
פתח (סגול)	(ב) בֿ	ź
חולם	ב בו	בֹ בֹר
שורק, קבוץ	בוּ	ב בר
צירי	ב בי	ڌ ڌ
חירק	בַ בי	בֹ בֹי

- § 3. The following short passages exemplify all the signs contained in the above table.
  - (a) Hebrew. Num. xi, 1, 2.

חוֹה העם כֹמֹת אֹנִנים רע בֹאוֹנִי יְהוָה וֹישׁמֹע יְהוָה הֹיֹם אֹפֹּר הֹתֹבער בפס אש יְהוָה וֹתֹאֹכל בֹקצה המחֹנה י וֹיצעק העם אלימשה ויתפלל משה אלייהוה ותשקע האש.

(Or. 1467, fol. 47a, col. 1.)

Ibidem, v, 10.

וֹישׁמֹע מֹשׁה אֹת־חֹעם בֹצֹה למשפּחֹתוֹיו איש לפתח אַהֿלוֹ וֹיֹחֹר אַף יְהוָה מְאֹד וֹבֹעִינִי מֹשׁה רע.

(Ibidem, col. 2.)

Ibidem, xii, 7.

לא צו עצדי משה בכל־ביתי נאמן הוא (Ibidem, fol. 48b, col. 2.)

<sup>\*</sup> As often Baer, following MSS. of German origin.

(b) Targum. Gen. xxxii, 3, 4.

ישלח זעקב אזגדין קדמוהי לוא עשו אחוהי לארעא דסיעיר לחקלי אדום ופקיד זתהון למימר כדין תימרון לריבוני לעשו כדנן אמר עבדך יעק עם לבן דרית ואוחרית עד כעו.

(Or. 2363, fol. 30a, col. 2.)

Num. xi, 20.

עד יירח\* יומין עד דתקוצון ביה ויהון ללנון לתקלא הלף דקצתון במימרא בדיוני דשצינתיה שריא ביניבו וובביתון קדמוהי למימר למא דנן נפקנא ממצרים.

(Or. 1467, fol. 47b, Col. 2.)

Ibidem xxxii, 29.

וֹאֹמֿר מֹשׁה לֹהוֹן אֹם צּיִיעברון בַנֵּי גֹד וֹבנִי רֹאובֹן עֹמֹכֹּון יֿת ירדנא כֹל דמוֹרוּ לקרבא קדם עמא דְיִוֹיָ וֹתֹתכֹבִיש אֿרעֿא קֿדמיכֿון וֹתֹתנון לֹהון יֹת אֹרע גֹלעד לֹאַחסׁנֹא.

(Or. 1467, fol. 73b, Col. 1.)

§ 4. Before discussing the differences to be noticed in the application of this vowel-system to the Hebrew and the Aramaic respectively (note e.g. the absence of vir in the Aramaic), and before fixing our attention on the power and usage of each sign in detail, it seems best first to exemplify a later variation of which Or. 1470 (containing the Hafṭārōth) is a very good representative. It will be

<sup>\*</sup> Or. 2363 דייָר, † Or. 2363 ליהוי, ברון Or. 2363 ליהוי, § Or. 2363 יעברון היינוי.

noticed that the sublinear sign = is there represented by the superlinear = in קֿרֹמוֹרוֹר, פֿרֹמוֹר , etc., and that the sign of וווים is absent.

The Hebrew text of the Hafṭārōth in Or. 1470 has the sublinear punctuation, and of the Targum the following passages will serve as examples:—

Hăbakkūk iii, 1, 2.

זּלות דצלי הבלון נביא ל פד אתגלי ליה על ארפא דיהב ללשיעיא דאם יתובון לאוריתא בלבב שלים ישהביק להון ייהון כל הוביהון דחבו קדמוהי הא כשלותא: ייי שמעית שימע גבורתך דחלית ייי לברבין עובדך דאת יהיב ארפא ללשיעיא דאם יתובון לאוריתך ולא תבו ואנון מרגין קדמך בנו אנון לאורית בכין את עתיד מרגין קדמך בנו שניא דיהבת להון הייא בכין את עתיד להודעא גבורת בנו שניא דיהבת להון הייא בכין את עתיד להודעא גבורת בנו שניא דיהבת להון הייא בכין את עתיד להודעא גבורת בנו שניא דיהבת להון הייא עבין את עלמא לאתפרעא מרשיעיא דעברו על מימרך וצדיקיא עבדי לאתפרעא בנו להמין תדברו

(Or. 1470, fol. 67 a, Col. 2, and 67 b, Col. 1.) Compare Merx's Chrestomathy, p. 105,

<sup>\*</sup> In the *Prolegomena* to his *Chrestomathy*, p. xi, Prof. Merx says: "Signum of quo Hatef Qames exprimitur in his codicibus proprium est," as if this composite sign were a "general" characteristic of the British Museum MSS. with the superlinear punctuation; but the examples given by him on pp. 69 and 71 are evidently ascribed by some strange oversight to Or. 2363, the passages in question being mutilated and quite illegible in that MS. I have not noticed any instance of the sign same in either Or. 1467 or 2363, and this sign is no doubt a later development.

<sup>†</sup> Note the pauses within verses.

Hăbakkūk, v, 16.

אֹמרת בֿבל שֹמעית וֹזעו מלכי. מן קֿדם דִּינֹא דֹאדּדְנוּ מצראי. לֹקל מֹלוֹא אֹלִיךְ צַלֹּא סֹפוֹתי. אֹחֹד זֹיעֹא לחֹכִימֹי. וֹבאתר דשׁרינֹא זִעִית. דשׁבקני לוֹים עַקֹא. לעִידּן אֹפֿקא וֹבֹאתר הַשׁרינֹא זִעִית. דשׁבקני לוֹים עַקֹא. לעִידּן אַפֿקא וֹּבֹלוֹת עַׁהִיה מִנִּי יִתבּרִינִנִי:

(Or. 1470, fol. 68, Col. 1); compare Merx's Chrestomathy, p. 111.)

§ 5. It had been thought that — was the only composite sign used in this variation, and that the Aramaic () was the only word\* which exemplifies it, but the following extracts from Or. 2227, a Yemenite Service Book written by a son † of the scribe who wrote Or. 1470 show that — was in the 16th century, at any rate, used largely in Hebrew, and that the sign — was as common as —.

Psalm xlviii, 8:--

בֹרוֹח קרים תשבר אניות תרשיש:

Ibidem, v. 14:-

שׁילו לבֹכֹם לחילה פֿסֹגו ארמֹנותיה למען תֹספֿרו לדור אַהרון:

Ibidem, lxxxii, 1:-

ישפט : אַלְהִים נֹצֵב בُעַדُת אֹל בֹקְרֹב אֹלְהִים ישפט

Ibidem, v. 6:-

אָנִי אמרתי אּלהים אֹתֹם וֹבנִי עُליוֹן בֹּלֹבֹם:

(These four verses are on fol. 21a.)

<sup>\*</sup> It is, however, also used in הלקביל. See e.g. Or. 1472, folio 31, column I. In Or. 2364 (Num. 25, 4), however, לקביל in Or. 1467). † The scribe of Or. 2227 (A.D. 1540) was

אביגד בן דוד בן בניה בן סעדיה בן זכריה בן עודד בן מרגה אלנסאד

and Or. 1470 (A.D. 1484) was written by . . . . דוד בן בניה. Here then we have an authentic list giving seven successive generations of a family of Vemenite scribes.

Psalm xciv, 10:-

יוֹי יוֹדע מחשבות ארם כי המה הבל: (Fol. 216.)

Ibidem, lxxxiii, 1:---

אֹלהים אַל־הַּמִי לֹךְ אַל־תַהַרש וֹאַלּיתִשׁלְוִט אֵל:

Ibidem, v. 7:-

: אַהֿרֹים הֹעֹמִעאלִים מוֹאֹב וֹהֹגרִים אַהֿרֹים מּוֹאֹב וֹהֹגרִים (These two verses are on fol. 23 a.)

§ 7. An important feature of the earliest known examples of this punctuation as exhibited in Or. 1467 and 2363 is the use of the represented by  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) for the letters  $\frac{1}{2}$ . In the Hebrew,

<sup>\*</sup> Not indeed as regularly as with the sublinear punctuation, but even the irregularity in its usage would seem to show that the דבולוה is imported into the superlinear punctuation from another system. Notice, however, in e.g., דבולו (Lev. xxvi, 4, in Or. 1467), the use of the דבולום besides the דבולום.

<sup>+</sup> Not regularly, however.

<sup>‡</sup> I have not, however, noticed a now with the sign of in the Aramaic; and if it is used at all, it can only be very rarely. This circumstance reminds one of the fact that the Nestorians also pronounced the nard, except in rare cases. See Nöldeke, Syrische Grammatik, p. 15.

where the אביד is used, this sign is really not necessary,\* as the absence of יבוד implies the pronunciation indicated by שו ; but in the Aramaic, which lacks the דגש, the דביד is of considerable importance. In Or. 1470, however, where the דגש is largely used in the Aramaic, the necessity for employing the בו is no more felt; hence its absence there.

§ 8. The sign of the לשוא has been already remarked on (see § 6). The composite sign ב, having the sound o in too marked a degree, is in the oldest and simplest system expressed by ב, To the example אַבָּרָה add such words as בּרָרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבְּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבְּרָה, אַבְּרָה, אַבְּרָה, אַבְּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבְּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבּרָה, אַבּרָה, אַבּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבּרָה, אַבּרָה, אַבָּרָה, אַבּרָה, אַבּרָּה, אַבּרָּה, אַבּרָה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּייה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּבּרָה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּיּה, אַבּ

The composite signs  $\tilde{\Xi}, \dagger$   $\tilde{\Xi}$  in Or. 1470 and 2227 (besides several other MSS.) appear to mark an endeavour to assimilate the superlinear system to the more marked vocal differentiation exhibited in the sublinear punctuation. This inference may be looked upon as sufficiently evident. The Yemenite scribes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were in the constant habit of using both systems, and it is only natural to think that the composite signs of the one system should suggest a similar formation in the other.

The two signs  $\frac{\pi}{2}$  and  $\frac{\pi}{2}$  really represent  $\frac{\pi}{2}$  and  $\frac{\pi}{2}$  as well as  $\frac{\pi}{2}$ , the vowel  $\frac{\pi}{2}$  representing both  $\frac{\pi}{2}$  and  $\frac{\pi}{2}$  (vide infra).

The שוא is not expressed at all, there being in reality no need for such a sign.

§ 9. It had been suggested ‡ that the signs  $\stackrel{\checkmark}{\Box}$  and  $\stackrel{\checkmark}{\Box}$  represent in form the letter  $\aleph$  in different stages of modification. It is, however,

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<sup>\*</sup> The endeavour of the Masorites to indicate the pronunciation as clearly as possible has produced a tendency to a superfluity of signs in the Hebrew.

<sup>†</sup> In the Targum, where only ב appears to be used, it seems to be confined to the לְבִיל, קְבִּיל, that letter requiring a fuller vocalisation on account of its hardness; compare in Hebrew קדשור from דישור האבלים.

<sup>‡</sup> See S. Pimsker's: מבוא אל הבקור האשורי או הבבלי, or Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktationssystem, pp. 8 and xvi. Prof. Wright, Arabic Grammar, 2nd edition, Vol. I, p. 7, is, however, much more careful, restricting himself even in the Arabic to the statement that " ב is a small ."

much more likely that  $\frac{\epsilon}{2}$  is a modified form of the Jacobite Syriac Pěthôhô ( $\frac{\epsilon}{2}$ ), and that similarly the sign  $\frac{\epsilon}{2}$  is nothing but the Greek w which is found in early Syriac MSS,\* instead of  $\frac{\epsilon}{2}$ , the Jacobite vowel Zěkôfô. If the Greek letter in question is written down so as to have its opening on the left, a shortening of the two sides at once produces the superlinear Kāmeṣ ( $\frac{\epsilon}{2}$ ); and as the force of these two superlinear signs is analogous to the two Syriac vowels respectively, there seems to be no reason for doubting the correctness of this theory.

§ 10. The sign  $\frac{1}{2}$  represents both  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , that is both the short aand the short e. It does not follow, however, that no difference was made in the pronunciation. It is well known that the Arabic fèth (-) is subject to different modifications † of sound, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the vowel  $\frac{1}{2}$  was not uniformly pronounced like ], but that it actually had the sound of ], where it corresponds to this sublinear sign. It is also probable that \(\sigma\) was not originally so decidedly like the vowel-letter e as we are apt to think, but that \(\mathbb{1}\) and \(\mathbb{1}\) were at first more closely related to one another in their pronunciation. Take for instance the word It is at once clear that neither in the one system nor in the other were the two syllables of the word pronounced alike. The strong accentuation of the first syllable as compared with the secondary character of the ultimate vowel precludes the idea of equality of sound. It would follow, therefore, that neither nor possessed an invariable pronunciation in the respective systems, but that it was only on account of a general relationship in sound that one sign was adopted for two or even three vocal variations.

אוו. From the fact that קמץ גדול and קמץ קטון are both

<sup>\*</sup> See Add. 14,429, fol. 88b, and the account of Add. 14,667 in Wright's Syriac Catalogue, p. 111. The former MS. is dated A.D. 719, the latter is of the tenth century. See also Nöldeke's Syrische Grammatik, p. 8.

<sup>+</sup> See, c.g., Wright's Comparative Grammar, pp. 76, 77. Compare also the various modes of pronouncing the vowel-letter a in English.

represented by  $\stackrel{\checkmark}{\supset}$ ,\* it may safely be inferred that the originators of this vowel-system pronounced the  $\stackrel{\checkmark}{\bigcirc}$  as the western Syrians pronounced their  $\stackrel{\circ}{\bigcirc}$ , and not like the Nestorian  $\stackrel{\cdot}{\longrightarrow}$ . If  $\stackrel{\checkmark}{\supset}$  were pronounced  $\hat{a}$ , the same sign would hardly have been adopted for the short o; but if  $\stackrel{\checkmark}{\supset}$  was pronounced  $\hat{o}$ , or rather like the vowel sound in "small" (see § 12), the identity of the sign is at once explained. The same remark applies of course equally to the sublinear sign  $\stackrel{\searrow}{\supset}$ , which is also both  $\hat{o}$  and o, and it therefore follows that the originators of the two systems did not differ from one another in their pronunciation of the  $\stackrel{\checkmark}{\bigcirc}$  This observation is of considerable importance with reference to the origin of this vowel-system, and its relation to the sublinear punctuation, and will obtain due consideration in the second part of this treatise.

§ 12. It is noticeable that both the sublinear and the superlinear systems of punctuation agree with the Nestorian differentiation of o and o in Syriac. In the sublinear system there is a very close agreement with the Nestorian Syriac even in form, for is clearly identical with o and i with o; and in the superlinear punctuation  $(1)\dot{a} = (1)\dot{a} = \dot{o}$ , and  $(1)\dot{a} = 1$ . In the Jacobite pronunciation of the Syriac there is, as is well known, no sign corresponding to the **o**. This may be due to the circumstance that  $\stackrel{\circ}{-}$  was practically pronounced like o by the western Syrians, so that a fresh sound of the same or a similar character would have been confusing. In the two systems of punctuation, however, which meet us in Hebrew, we are actually confronted with a sign  $\hat{\mathbf{S}}$  or  $\mathbf{S} = \mathbf{S} =$ a sign בֹּן or בֹּ or בֹּ = o.† This would lead one to think that the originators of the two systems, though not pronouncing  $\hat{\exists}$ ,  $\exists$  like a pure long a, did not either pronounce it quite like a pure long o, but that the sound of  $\hat{\mathbf{S}}$ ,  $\mathbf{S}$  lay between the two, and was probably pronounced like the a in "small." I

<sup>\*</sup> It has already been noticed that בו also represents מולי in the oldest known examples of this vowel-system, as c.g. בולי, צרי

<sup>†</sup> No reference is of course intended here to the etymology of the two vowels.

<sup>‡</sup> This is the now generally adopted view.

§ 13. A noteworthy and instructive feature meets us here in connection with the copulative ז. The שוא following it is not אים, as one is accustomed to pronounce it in connection with the sublinear vowel-system, but is everywhere \* resting; so e.g. רבבי , ובבי (חסלים, ולעיני (חסלים, ולעיני (חסלים, ולעיני (חסלים, ובילין וויסיב is indeed not to be looked upon as a long vowel, but is to be classed with the "half-open" or "loose" syllables, like the — in בילבי or the — in בילבי ווא ברכפת following the אים הוא מוא לושקה (בורכפת following the בגרכפת הבדרין וויסיב following the אים אים הוא הוא בגרכפת הבדרין (בורכפת הבדרין וויסיב following the הבדרים הב

<sup>\*</sup> See Merx's Chrestomathy, p. 191, where a full account is given of the vocalisation of the copulative . It must be noticed, however, that the vocalisation אונים (Num. xxv, 8, in the Targum) is a mistaken reading. In Or. 1467, on which Merx's text rests, the אוני over the שוא was evidently erased prima manu, whilst the reading in Or. 2363 is יובושה. The reading prima manu, p. 54, is also incorrect.

<sup>†</sup> The reading mentioned in Merx's Chrestomathy, pp. xi and 15, note 2, is not at all clear in the MS., and it is quite possible that the very faint upper stroke is due to an accidental touch, or that, at any rate, it had been subsequently almost entirely effaced.

Another interesting observation to be made concerns the "furtive pathah." Instead of its being written over the letters ה, ה, ש, it is placed over the preceding vowel-letter;\* so הור הירות, הירות, הירות, אלוהי, etc. This distinctly points to a pronunciation which treated the letters ה, ה, ש as "resting" consonants with a "preceding" a sound. Where, however, there is no vowel-letter, the usage appears to waver between e.g. הורע אלוה.

§ 15. It is due to a strange freak in the fortunes of literature that the later and composite form of the superlinear punctuation is mainly known to us by a MS. of much earlier date than Or. 1467 and 2363, which are the earliest known representatives of the simple form of this punctuation. It is of course possible that MSS. of the eighth and ninth centuries may sooner or later make their appearance to enrich our knowledge of both systems of punctuation, and to widen the scope of our view on this field of enquiry; but for the present the Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus remains preëminent for its antiquity† as an exemplification of the composite superlinear punctuation.

§ 16. The following table illustrates the vowel-system as used in the above-named MS. of the later Prophets:—

Name of sign.	Sublinear form.	Superlinear form.
רפה	Ē	Ē
שוא נע ) שוא נח	÷	Ē
קמץ גדול	ڎؚ	ź
דגש ante קמץ חטוף	$\frac{1}{r}$ $\left(\frac{1}{r}\right)$	ےً
idem ante נח ) חמף קמץ	בָּ בָּ	ڠٙ

<sup>\*</sup> So also in Or. 2349 and the Hebrew text of the Haftaroth in Or. 1470, etc. (the same peculiarity is found in the Cambridge Add. MS. 1174, which was written by the same scribe as Or. 2349 and Or. 1470).

<sup>†</sup> Or. 4445, containing the Pentateuch with the sublinear punctuation, is, however, in all probability older than the St. Petersburg Codex of the latter Prophets. For a description of it see the *Academy* of April 2, 1892.

Name of sign.	Sublinear form.	Superlinear form.
		ź
פתח (סגול)	Ţ ( <del>Ĵ</del> )	_
idem ante דגש		ےً
idem ante הב) הטף פתח	— <u>=</u>	څ
חולם	ב בו	בו בו
שורק (קבוץ)	(בָּ) בּרָּ	ב בר
idem ante דגש		הי הי
idem ante	_	בֹּ
צירי	ב בי	ב בי
idem ante דגש		ڐ
idem ante בח }	— <u>"</u>	ڐٙ
דירק	בָ בי	בֹ בי
idem ante דגש	_	Ē
idem ante 🗂	_	Ė

§ 17. The following passages from the *Codex Babylonicus* will exemplify all the signs contained in the above table:—

Isaiah xlii, 11-13:-

ישאוּ מֶּדַבּר וֹעריו חִצרים תשב \* קֹדְר וֹרנוּ וֹשבׁד סֿלע מֵרֹאשׁ הרים יֹצּוְחוּ: ישׁימוּ ליהוה כּבּוֹד וּתֹהֹלּתוֹ בּאֹים וֹגִּידֹוּ: יהוה כַּגַבּוֹר יצא כּאישׁ מֹלחמוֹת יעיר קֹנֹאֹה יריע אֹהְיצרים עֹל־אִבּוֹר זֹתֹגְבְּר:

<sup>\*</sup> Of the accents only the Athnah and Silluk are marked in these extracts. See § 24.

Ezekiel xl, 42-44:-

וֹאֹרבּעה שׁלחנות לעוֹלה אֹבני \*גֹזית אֹרְדְיאֹמה אֹחת וֹלִיחוּ וֹחִצִי וֹלִבֹה־אֹמה אֹחֹת אֹלִיהם וֹינִיחוּ וֹחִצִי וֹלִבֹה־אֹמה אֹחֹת אֹלִיהם וֹינִיחוּ אָת־הַבּלִים אֹשׁר יֹשֹׁחֹטוּ אֶת־הַעוֹלה בַּם וֹהֹזֹבֹח: וֹהְשַׁפּּתִּים שְׁפֹּתִים אֹשׁר יִשֹּחֹטוּ אֶת־הַעוֹלה בַּם וֹהֹזֹבֹח: וֹהְשַׁלֹּחֹנוֹת בּשֹׁר שׁפֹּת סבּיבּ וֹ סבּיבּ וֹמִלּי + הُשַּׁלֹחנוֹת בּשׁר הַפַּנִימי לֹשַׁכּוֹת שׁרִים בֿחִצֵּר הַפַּנִימי לִשְּׁכּוֹת שׁרִים בֿחִצֵּר הַפַּנִימי אֹשׁר אַלֹּכֹּתֹהְ שׁער הַצִּפּוֹן וּפִנִיהם הְּרִךְ הַבְּרוֹם אַחֹר אֹלּלּכֹתֹהְ שַׁער הַצִּפּוֹן וּפִנִיהם הְרִךְ הַבְּרוֹם אַחֹר אֹלּלּכֹתֹהְ שַׁער הַצִּפּוֹן וּפִנִיהם הְרִךְ הַבְּרוֹם אַחֹר אַלֹּלֹתְ שִׁער הַבְּבּוֹן יִפְנִיהם הַרִּךְ הַבְּרִוֹם אַחֹר אַלִּים פַּנִי הְרִךְ הַצִּפֹן:

Isaiah xlix, 8:-

לֹה אُמֹר יהוה בּעֹת רצוֹן עניתוֹדְ וּבּיוֹם ישׁוּעָה עוֹרּתּיִדְ וֹאַבּרֹךְ וֹאֹהַנַךְ לֹבּרוֹת עָם לֹהֹקוֹם אُרֹץ לֹהֹנַחוֹל נחׁלוֹת שֹׁמִקוֹת:

Ḥăbakkūķ i, 8, 9:—

וَקُלֹּוּ מַנַּמֹרִים סוּסֿיו וֹחُדּוּ מַזּאבּדִי־עַרבּ וֹפַשׁוּ פֿרשׁוּ וֹפֿרשׁיוּ בֹּמֹרחֹוּק יבאו יעפֿוּ כַּנשׁר חשׁ לֹאַכְּוֹּל : לֹּלֹה לֹחמֹס יּבּוֹא מَגُפֿת פַנִיהُם קָדִיּמֹה וֹּיִאֶּסֹף כַּחוֹל שָׁבִּי:

Ibidem, iii, 2, 3:-

יהוה שُמُעَתִּי שُמֹעֹךֵ יְרֹאַתוּ יהוה פֿעַלֹךְ בَקְּרֹב שُנִים חִייהוּ בَקְרֹב שُנִים תּוֹדִיע בּרֹגֹז רְחִם תִּזְּפְוּר: אֵּלוֹה מַתּימֹן יُבוֹא וֹקְדוֹשׁ מִהֹר פֿאֹרן סُלְה נַּפֹה שُמִים הוֹדוֹ וּתֹהֹלֹתוֹּ מُלֹאָה הַאָּרֹץ:

<sup>\*</sup> Evidently deriving this word from ;;;, and not from ;;. See Pinsker, p. 17.

<sup>+</sup> Note this pointing for the sublinear חיבות

<sup>#</sup> So in the MS. with double indication of the o.

Hăbakkūk iii, 7:-

## בּהָרֹת אוֹן רֹאִיתִי אָהַלִּי כַּוּשׁׁן הֹבְּזוּן יֹרִיעוֹת אַרֹץ בֹּדֹין:

§ 19. The use of the same sign (בֹ) for שׁוֹא בּע, חפה, and wis is very inconvenient, and must be looked upon as a retrograde step, if compared with the pointing of, e.g., Or. 1467, where the בּבּה is represented by בֹ, and the שׁוֹא בֹע by בֹ, whilst the is not indicated at all. The explanation of this unsatisfactory fusion of signs must be sought in the design of assimilating the superlinear vowel-system as much as possible to the sublinear punctuation.\* The sign בֹ was made to represent both kinds of אשׁנֵי לְּישׁנוֹא בֹי simply because the sign בְ was found to serve both purposes; and as the sign of the בּבּה as used in connection with the sublinear system is also בֹ, this sign thus chanced to obtain a threefold signification in the vowel-system exhibited in the Codex Babylonicus.

§ 20. As there are special signs in the superlinear punctuation to indicate a following doubled consonant, the יוֹ is not really necessary, except in cases like הֹבְּהֹבָּה † (Jer. xlviii, 1), הֹבְּהַה (ibidem, v. 20), and הֹבְּהִיה (Is. xxxii, 9); and if it be considered that in the simpler and older form of this vowel-system the Targum is practically without the use of the דְּבָּשׁ , one is led to the conclusion that also in

<sup>\*</sup> The reader is asked not to draw from this statement the inference that the sublinear punctuation is the older of the two, but to refer to Part II for further information.

<sup>†</sup> The name אוש appears to be confined to the sublinear sign בּ, and not to apply to the suprilinear בּ. Compare the Syriac term בּיבּים for the sign of interpunction (:); see Bernstein's Chrestomathy, p. 205, l. 3, and Lexicon, p. 508.—It is, in any case, a serious mistake to look upon the horizontal stroke in composite vowels as a אַרָּהָר הַ יִּשְׁרָּאָ and to transcribe, e.g., בּרַרְהָּי by בַּרְיּהְרָי (as Pinsker does on the page facing p. 45). The line under and over the vowel-sign respectively indicates אַרָּהָי or בַּיִּהָר for the following consonant, and not a אַרָּהָי for the consonant bearing the composite sign.

<sup>‡</sup> It is noticeable that רְרֵכֶּל is without a דְרֵנֶשׁ in the j in all its four occurrences in Isaiah. Pinsker, who is usually most reliable in his references, is at fault here.

this respect the superlinear punctuation shows distinct marks of an attempt to assimilate it as much as possible to the sublinear system. On the supposition that the superlinear vowel-signs were grafted on a text which had been previously punctuated on the sublinear method, such an element as the שלים would not unnaturally remain in the text notwithstanding the fact that the new punctuation could in most cases dispense with it.

§ 21. Long vowels may of course in the tone-syllable be followed by a בו or a ידני without the accompanying line under or over the vowel-sign respectively. To words like הַבְּבֶּר, פּבֹר, mentioned in the preceding section, add instances like בו הַבְּבֶּר, הַבְּבֶּר, הַבְּבֶּר, הַבְּבֶּר, פּבָר. etc.

The same remark applies to the "pathaḥ "\* as the most prominent of the short vowels, e.g., הֹתְה, הִילֹּה, אַשׁר,

<sup>\*</sup> The "pathaḥ" would naturally be of greater importance in a system in which the "Kāmeṣ" is pronounced similar to o (•). Hence the Nestorians often employ the vowel \_, where the Jacobites have \_, whilst the reverse is much rarer; see Nöldeke's Syrische Grammatik, p. 33.

<sup>+</sup> The name מברל, generally rendered by "botrus," would, indeed, not apply to the sign :, but it is not identity of name that is suggested here, but partial identity of power.

<sup>‡</sup> For a fuller treatment of this subject see e.g. Wright's Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, pp. 75, ff.

Codex Babylenicus, influenced as its pronunciation evidently was partly by the more original Arabic vocalization, and partly by a certain kind of provincialism,\* avoids the permutation of the various vowel-sounds into  $\overline{\cdot}$  in most cases, and only allows itself to represent the  $\overline{\cdot}$  by  $\overline{\cdot}$  in a very limited number of instances, a large proportion of these being cases in which the  $\overline{\cdot}$  represents the secondary syllable in the so-called segolate nouns. The following examples will suffice to illustrate this part of the subject:—†

There is, however, also a considerable number of instances in which the superlinear  $\pm$  corresponds to the sublinear  $\pm$ , and it is

<sup>\*</sup> The term "provincialism" is here used in opposition to the "traditional" pronunciation as represented in the best codices provided with the sublinear punctuation.

<sup>†</sup> A larger number of systematised instances will be found in Pinsker's Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktationssystem, pp. xxi-xxv. Pinsker, however, thought that the punctuation of Codex Babylonicus was anterior to the sublinear system.

<sup>‡</sup> Compare the Arab. إُلِي

<sup>§</sup> So almost universally *i* for *e* with the of the first person singular of the Imperfect. The only two exceptions (אַבּרֶבֶּבְּיֵבְ and מִבְּבְּבָּבְּיִבְּיִ are included in the examples given in the text. בּבְּבְּבְּבִּי (Zech. vii, 14) corresponds to These are the only three occurrences of the sign (ב) in the Codex Babylonicus. See Pinsker, p. 18 (where he only gives the first two), and p. xxix.

this circumstance which leads me to look upon  $\cdot$  as being in a certain measure equivalent to  $\overline{\phantom{a}}$ . Thus is בְּמֶלְקְהִים (Is. vi, 6) represented in Codex Babylonicus by בְּמְלְקְהִים, \* בִּמְלְקְהִים (Joel i, 17) appears as מֹגרפּתיהם, and so עָרב , בֹמִלְקְהִים (Isaiah xvi, 9), מֹגרפּתיהָן, וֹאֵרְא , וֹאַרָּא , עָרֶב , מֵפֶּר , מֶלֶךְ , וֹאֵרָא , עָרֶב , מֵפֶּר , מֶלֶךְ , וֹאֵרָא , וְאַרָּאָר , וְאַרָּאָר , בִּהְרָיִם, זְּבְּרֶב , בֹהֹר , אַרְיָרָם וּ הֹעֹכֹם בְּהַר בּהֹר אַכְּוֹרִי  $\gamma$  , אַרְרָבִּים = הֹעֵּכֹם בְּהַר בּהֹר אַכְּוֹרִי = אַכֹּזֹרי , אַרְאָר וֹיִלְרָי = אַכֹזרי , אַרְבָּיִר = הַעַּבָּם וּ הַשַּכֹם בְּהַר בּהֹר אַכְּיָרִי = אַכֹזרי , אַבְּלָרִי = אַכֹזרי , אַבְּיִרִי = אַכֹזרי , אַבְּיִרִי = אַכּזּרי , אָבְיִרִי = אַכּזּרי , אַבְּיִרִי = אַבּיּרִי , אַבְּיִרִי = אַכּזּרי , אַבְּיִרִי = אַבּיּרִי = בּהֹר בּיִרי בּיִרִי בּיִרִי = אַבּיּרִי בּיִרִי = אַבּירי , אַבְּיִרִי = אַבּירי , אַבְּיִרִי = אַבּירִי בּירִי בּיִרִי = אַבּירי , אַבְּיִרִי = אַבִּירִי = אַבּירי , אַבְּיִרִי = אַבִּיר = הִּיִיבִּים בּיִייִי בּיִּיבָּים בּיִייִי בּיִי בּיִר בּיִי בּיִיי בּיִי בּיִרי בּיִי בּיִר בּיִּי בְּיִיי בּיִי אַבָּי בּיִי בּיִּי בּיִי בּיִי בּיִיי בּיִי בּיִיי בּיִי בּיִי בּיִי בְּיִי בּיִי בּיִי בְּיִי בְּיִי בְּי בִּיִי בְּיִי בְּיִי בִּי בְּיִי בִּי בְּיִי בְּיִי בְּיִי בִּי בְּיִי בִּי בְּיִי בְּיִי בְּיִי בְּיִי בְּיִי בְּיִי בִּיי בְּיִי בְ

It is in any case quite unreasonable to look upon  $\pm$  as being simply a weakened  $\pm$  and to class it with "pathah" entirely. A glance at the instances given above are sufficient to show that it largely represents an original i(e) sound. Besides its usage with thethere of nouns of instrument like מֹלְקְׁתִּרֶם and the other examples already given, it occurs in all the suffixed forms of מֹלֶרֶתְּרָם (as, e.g.,

<sup>\*</sup> Nouns of instrument are purposely chosen here, as the original sound appears to be i for the n in such cases, witness the Arabic noun form n

<sup>†</sup> This is the only instance of this vocalization of ענלד, its usual form is  $\dot{\bar{y}}$  (see Pinsker, p. xxxv).

<sup>‡</sup> Pinsker speaks of this and similar instances as occurring "auffallender Weise" (p. xxxiv), but as little surprise need be felt in this case as in, e.g.,  $\overrightarrow{CC}$ . He was under the impression that the only regular and legitimate use of  $\underline{\cdot}$  was to represent a weak a sound by it, but in reality it represents the original sound of i almost as much as that of a (vide infra).

<sup>§</sup> The variability in the pronunciation of  $\angle$  has already been touched upon, see § 10. The reader must have noticed besides that  $\angle$  is also used to represent  $\overline{-}$ ;  $\overline{\cdot}$ :

אברת (Jer. xliii, ז, etc.), בצדקתך, etc. Among the largest classes of instances in which it occurs must no doubt be reckoned the segolate noun-forms, but the auxiliary vowel which represents in these cases is an i (e) sound rather than a "pathah," the latter sound being only used with gutturals, as, e.g., ובה, פשער, פער, ובה, פער, פער, פער, פער אוברים.

The following few rules should be remembered in connection with the use of  $\stackrel{\cdot}{-}$ .

- (1.) It never occurs in a syllable which has either a full tone or a half-tone (i.e., the מותב of the sublinear system)
  - (2.) It is never used before a consonant which has a דֶנֶשׁ.
  - (3.) It never stands in an open syllable.
- (4.) It represents either an original a sound, or is derived from an i (or e).
- § 23. The following remarks remain yet to be made in connection with the punctuation of the *Codex Babylonicus:*—
- (ו.) There is no "furtive pathah" in the Codex, so יריע for the sublinear בְּבוֹהָ, וֹיִצְרִיחַ for תַּצְרִיחַ, הַבּוֹהָ, for הַבּבוֹהָ, for more commonly בָּבוֹהָ,
- (2.) There is no מתג in this system of punctuation, and there is indeed much less need for it than in the sublinear system. In the latter method of vocalization the מתג under the יוֹ, e.g., יְרָאוּ from the root ירא differentiates it from יְרָאוּ, root ראה; but in the Codex

Babylonicus the vocalization itself marks the difference, יראה from שרא being printed with a long i over the י, and יראה from having a short i over the same letter. The accentual power of the מרג, as in e.g. מרג is rather missed in Codex B., but it is not unlikely that the מרג was very little used even with the sublinear punctuation at the beginning of the tenth century,\* when Codex B. was written.

(3.) It is also worthy of notice that the vowel-signs are thrown as much as possible to the left in this system of punctuation, so

<sup>\*</sup> Witness its rare and irregular use in Or. 4445, which is, however, in all probability older than  $Codex\ B$ .

- הולדת, בני, בני, את, לשראל, כשׁה, etc. This fact seems to indicate an appreciation of the principle that the vowel-sounds follow the consonants, and are not simultaneous with them in pronunciation.\*
- (4.) Another noticeable feature is the use of the אור איד with all letters, except אור הדין, that are provided with a שוא בע and follow upon a consonant with a ממיל, so, e.g., אישוא (Jer. xxiii, 31), לבֹאָלוֹן (Jer. xxiii, 31), לבֹאָלוֹן (Jer. xxiii, 21). לבּאַלוֹן (Jer. xxxviii, 21). לבּאַלוּן (Jer. is the איד with the א and איד and if the view indicated above (see § 20) that the איד is really not an original sign of the superlinear system be correct, it follows that we ought to find the same feature in early MSS. with the sublinear punctuation, whenever such should be discovered.
- (5.) The Sacred Name is not pointed at all, when it is pronounced like ארני, but is provided with vowel-signs when the pronunciation is that of יהורה, as, e.g., יהורה (Jer. i, 6).
- (6.) The conjunctive ל, when attached to words beginning with במף, is pointed with שוא and not with u as in the sublinear system, except when the letters במף are themselves pronounced with אוני און; so, e.g., שוא הביהם, but במיהם.
- (7.) The words בָּל, לְבֶּר, are usually provided with the sublinear punctuation in the *Codex Babylonicus*, and only occasionally bear the superlinear signs.

<sup>\*</sup> Pinsker, who is generally a very accurate observer, and from whom the present writer has learned much that is most helpful (many observations on the Codex Babylonicus he indeed primarily owes to Pinsker) only notices the position

of the vowel-signs in words like עור יבית (עור יור), but omits to notice the general principle as stated here. It is in consequence of this omission that he finds it necessary to give a forced explanation of the phoenomenon partially noticed by him; see loc. cit.

<sup>+</sup> For a longer list of examples, see Pinsker, pp. 111, 112.

<sup>‡</sup> Pinsker (p. 3) mentions the different pointing of the conjunctive מבר מא as one of his proofs in favour of the Babylonian origin of this vowel-system, but as he can only prove his point by first emending a passage in the מבר הרקמים, not much weight can be allowed to such a proof. See § 30.

- (8.) Codex B. distinguishes אַרנבר, אַרנבר אַרנבר, אַרנבר אַי אַרנבר אַ
- (9.) It is admitted on all hands that in most cases in which the מערבאי or Palestinian school differs from the מערבאי or Babylonian school, the *Codex Babylonicus* agrees with the readings of the כדבחאי,\* but in a not inconsiderable minority of instances the reverse takes place, so that no sufficiently decisive theory as to the origin of this punctuation can be founded on its relation to these two Masoretic schools.

§ 24. It is not intended to discuss here the system of accents used in the *Codex Babylonicus* and a few other MSS.; but partly for the sake of completeness, and partly because the superlinear accentual system will have to be mentioned in connection with the question regarding the origin of this punctuation (see § 39), it is

<sup>\*</sup> The differentiation of אוֹנְינִינְן and מְנִינְוּן, etc., appears to be one of the more important cases of agreement between the \*Codex Babylonicus\* and the codex serious; the reading לבכות (three times in Zech. xiv, 5) instead of יבינות is evidently another. Dr. Ginsburg's careful Masoretic collation of \*Codex B. has resulted in the tabulation of a considerable number of instances in which that codex agrees with the מערבא. Pinsker attaches too great weight to its more frequent agreement with the

found useful to subjoin a list of the pausal or \*disjunctive signs as used in the St. Petersburg MSS. *Codex B.*, Nos. 132, 133 + and Tschufut-Kale 8<sup>a</sup>, ‡ and the Oxford Hebrew MS. No. 64.§

Name of sign.	Ordinary form.	Superlinear form.
סקוק	구	구
אַּלְנָח	Ž	Ê
קגוֹלְתָּא	ڎ	الدُّ
הֿלְמֶּלֶת	בֿר	3
গুরু	ڂ ۥڂ	י בֿי
ধন্দু (ante Athnaḥ) idem ante Silluķ	7	בק בל

<sup>\*</sup> The conjuctive signs are the same as those used with the sublinear punctuation, with only this difference that  $\frac{1}{2}$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) are not used.

<sup>+</sup> See §§ 26, 27.

<sup>‡</sup> A specimen of this codex (Job xxxvi, I-II) is prefixed to Baer's edition of Job. The punctuation used in it agrees, to judge from this specimen, with Codex B., and does not show the characteristics of Nos. 132, 133, which will be discussed later on; so יוֹלְבְּעָׁדְּיִלְ (without "furtive pathah"), עבּשִׁבּיֹבְ (not שַבְּעִבּיִר ). The שַבְּיִב in the און of יוֹנְרְעָבְיִר is, however, wanting.

<sup>§</sup> According to Dr. Wickes, this MS. (consisting of one leaf) is a fragment of No. 132 in the St. Petersburg Library; see מעמי ב"א ספרים, p. 142, note.

<sup>|</sup> For further information on the names and forms, see Dr. Wickes' בים אונה אונה בים אינה בים אונה בי

ז מון and זקף ברול are not distinguished from one another in the superlinear system.

Name of sign.	Ordinary form.	Superlinear form
רָבִיעַ	Ė	ב
זַרְקָּא	ڎ	ےٌ
೫ದೆದೆಶ	Ę,	Ź, <u>ź</u> *
הָגבִיר	ş	ב
ָ גֶרָשׁ	ź	r L
לְגַרְמֵיה	خا	ځ

§ 25. The application of the composite superlinear vowel-system to the Targum appears to present no special features for consideration. It is only in its adaptation to the Hebrew text that a good many interesting characteristics offer themselves for observation. It will therefore suffice to quote a few instances from the Oxford MS. 64:—†

Deut. ix, 6:-

וֹתיֹדּע אֹרִי לֹא בֹזֹכוּתֹדְ יוָי אֶּלֹהֹדְ וֹהִיבַ לֹדְ וֹתֹ-אֹרעֿא מַבֹתִא הוֹא לֹמִירֹתִה אֹרִי עָם-קֹשׁי קֹדֹל אֹת:

From the same page may be quoted the phrases:-

It should be added, however, that although offering no special features in the punctuation, a careful study of the extant examples

<sup>\*</sup> The sign <u>u</u> is used for the second Pashta, when it is repeated.

<sup>†</sup> Vide supra, § 24. The example given here was copied from Plate I of the Facsimiles published with Dr Neubauer's Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library. It is to be noticed that the Targum as well as the Hebrew text are provided with the superlinear accents in this MS. The only leaf of which the MS. consists is, however, mutilated.

will in a'l probability serve as a considerable aid in the grammatical study of the Jewish Aramaic.\*

§ 26. The school of punctuators who attempted to adapt the superlinear system to the traditional pronunciation of the Hebrew text did not, however, stop at the approach made in the *Codex Babylonicus*, but made a further advance in the same direction in MSS. of a later date of which the St. Petersburg Codices 132, 133 are at present the best known representatives.

Simcha Pinsker's great fidelity to the MSS. from which he made transcriptions is beyond doubt, and in the present writer's want of access to the originals, he feels justified in making for once a transcription of parts of the עשרת הדברים given by Pinsker on pp. 48–50, and in summarising that author's remarks on pp. 45, 46 of his important work on this punctuation:—

אנכי יהוָה אוֹלהידְ אשׁר הוֹצֹאֹהִיךְ מֹאֹרץ מֹצֹרים מֹפּית עֹבוֹים: לֹא יְהֹיה לֹךְ אוֹלהים אוֹרים עֹל־+פֿנִי ....

שמור את יום השבת לקדשו פאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך יילאכה ויום השביעי שבת ליהוה אלהיך לא תעשה כל מלאכה אתה הבנך ובתר הבלה הבלה הבנך ובתר ובתר הבלה הבלה הבנך ובתר הבלר בהמתך הברך אשר בשעריך למען ינות עבדר ואמתר פמור במור יילים אשר בשעריך למען ינות עבדר ואמתר במור

<sup>\*</sup> Instances from the Targum contained in the St. Petersburg MSS. Nos. 132, 133 will be found in Prof. Merx's *Chrestomathy*, pp. 46-48, 132-139, and 149 ff. It is to be hoped, however, that Prof. Merx will at some future time subject his otherwise most useful work to a careful revision. In his list of composite vowels

given on p. xvi, he gives the following: - אָ , אַ , אַ , adding: "Alias vocalium cum lineola infra posita compositiones non legi"; but in his own book he presents us with the form בְּרַבְּיִרָדְיִּ (p. 46, etc.) and בּרַבְּיִרָּדִי (p. 132).

<sup>†</sup> In the textus receptus, the verse ends here, and the pointing is נומנים, however, an alternative arrangement), but in the MS. from which the above text is copied, the verse does not end before (end of v. 6 in the textus receptus). On the two styles of pointing the Decalogue, see Pinsker's Einleitung, pp. 46, 50, and Wickes מעמר משרים, pp. 130, 131.

- § 27. The Decalogue, though given by Pinsker in its entirety, does not show all the peculiarities of Nos. 132, 133, etc.; but they are contained in the following summary of Pinsker's \* הצעה הדברים as found in his *Einleitung*, pp. 45, 46.
- (ו.) In this more advanced  $\dagger$  stage of the superlinear punctuation, the "pathaḥ furtive" is used, as in e.g. הלנה .
- (2.) The Divine Name has the sublinear sign under the אורני, when pronounced like אוני.
- (3.) There is a יוֹענבּה יוֹענבּה אוֹנָה יוֹענבּה יוֹענבּר יִבּיבּה. So also in the suffix of the 2nd pers. singl. masc. in verbs, as
- (4.) The conjunctive א has the u sound before במקל, even if these letters are pronounced with full vowels, so e.g. אולביב .
- (5.) In Nos. 132, 133, the vocalization בּוֹלָם, וֹבֹּשׁן is used instead of בֹּיִבּ, יַבֹּי of the Codex Babylonicus.
- (6.) The pointing לָּלָ, בָּלָ, יבֹּלָ, is here used everywhere, and never בּן, בָּל, בָּלָ, as often in Codex B.‡
- (7.) No יוא is used with any consonant that is provided with a שוא בע and preceded by a שוא בע.
- (8.) The מתג is occasionally used in these codices, so e.g.
- (9.) Pinsker also quotes the reading אֹבוֹל (Zech. iii, 5) as against קברץ קטן of Codex B. to show that the קברץ קטן also approaches to the textus receptus with regard to different Masoretic readings.

<sup>\*</sup> Pinsker comprises Nos. 132, 133 under the term קברץ קטן. His work s written before either Codex B., or any MSS. of the collection were transferred from Odessa to St. Petersburg.

<sup>+</sup> Even Pinsker acknowledged the deliberate adaptation to the Hebrew text in case of Nos. 132, 133.

<sup>‡</sup> This circumstance shows the "gradual" naturalization of the superlinear signs in the traditional pronunciation of the Hebrew text.

## PART II.

## The origin of this Vowel-System, and its relation to other Semitic systems of Punctuation.

- § 28. Having now completed the survey of the superlinear punctuation in its different stages of development, an attempt must be made to use the facts thus gained, together with such other information as may yet remain to be gleaned, as a basis of further investigation into the origin of these signs and their place among other Semitic methods of punctuation. Before, however, placing before the student a complete view of the results arrived at by the author of this treatise, it will be necessary to discuss three different theories that have been propounded on the subject:—
- (1.) The view that the superlinear punctuation is of Karaïte origin has, perhaps, never been seriously held by scholars,\* and the idea may be looked upon as extinct in the present day. But for the sake of completeness a short investigation of this theory will be offered in the following outline.
- (2.) The view which most scholars † are inclined to accept is to the effect that the superlinear punctuation had its origin in the Babylonian schools, and is closely connected with the Masoretic methods of the מרנהאר or "Easterns."
- (3.) Dr. Wickes, in his well-known work on *The Accentuation of the twenty-one so-called Prose Books of the Old Testament*, first of all ably combats ‡ the theory named under (2), and then maintains that the superlinear punctuation "seems to have been an attempt to simplify and introduce regularity into the older system," § thus declaring the superlinear vowel-system to be later than the sublinear punctuation.

<sup>\*</sup> See Ewald's remarks in Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft, 1848, p. 161; Geiger's Urschrift, pp. 167, 168. Neither of these scholars appears to have given much countenance to the Karaite theory of "origin," although they are sometimes both quoted as having held this view.

<sup>†</sup> The fullest and on the whole ablest defence of this view is, no doubt, still that of Pinsker in his Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktationssystem.

<sup>‡</sup> See Appendix II of Dr. Wickes' work.

<sup>§</sup> Oper. cit., p. 146. See also the Rev. I. Harris' article on the "Rise and Development of the Massorah" in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1889, pp. 241, 242.

§ 29. The theory which ascribes the origin of the superlinear punctuation to the Karaïtes appears to rest on no foundation whatever, and must be considered as a pardonably false guess suggested by the fact that MSS. so punctuated were first discovered in the Crimea, famous for its Karaïte settlements.\* But even this scanty sort of evidence is more than completely counterbalanced by the large number of Yemenite MSS. now in the British Museum that are provided with the simpler and more ancient type of the same punctuation, and it should also be remembered that Or. 1467 and 2363, which are the oldest codices of this simpler style, are in all probability of Persian origin, and have no connection with the Crimea.

It is quite unnecessary in the present state of the controversy to offer a refutation of the Karaïte tradition that Rab Aḥa of 'Irāk invented this system of vocalisation at the commencement of the sixth century;† and even if the statement mentioned in Pinner's *Prospectus*, p. 54, according to which the Karaïtes only adopted the sublinear or so-called Palestinian punctuation in the year 957, could be relied on, it would by no means prove that they were the inventors of the superlinear system. Being in the habit of using a system, and may be contributing to its development, is one thing, and inventing it is another; and all that Geiger ‡ says in connection with this statement is that the Karaïtes had adopted the superlinear system before their separation from the Rabbanites.

It is of course very likely that the Karaïtes, who professed to take their religious stand upon the plain sense of the Scriptures, should take a very great interest in the work of providing graphic signs for the traditional reading of the Sacred Books, § and there is also the significant fact that the distinguished family of Masorites and Punctuators which can be traced back to the latter half of the eighth century, || and whose last and best known scion was the famous Aaron ben Moses ben Asher, is by the best authorities looked upon as Karaïte; ¶ but of actual evidence that the super-

<sup>\*</sup> See Ewald, loc. cit.

<sup>†</sup> See the number of the Jewish Quarterly Review already mentioned, p. 243.

<sup>#</sup> Urschrift, p. 168.

<sup>§</sup> The Karaïtes have in fact been credited, or have credited themselves, with the invention of the sublinear punctuation as well. *Ibidem*, pp. 242, 243.

<sup>||</sup> Same number of the Jewish Quarterly Review, p. 247.

<sup>¶</sup> So Graetz, Pinsker and Fuerst; as quoted in the Jewish Quarterly Review, ibidem, p. 247.

linear punctuation originally emanated from these interesting opponents of the Rabbanites there is as yet none to adduce.\* On the contrary, the fact that no trace of this punctuation is found in the large number of partly very ancient Karaïte MSS. now in the British Museum may be looked upon as evidence in favour of the opposite theory; and if Derenbourg's view,† that vowel-signs were first used to facilitate elementary school teaching, be correct, it would be quite as natural for the Rabbanites as for the Karaïtes to interest themselves in the origination and elaboration of graphic vowel-signs.

§ 30. The theory which identifies the originators of the superlinear punctuation with the Masoretic schools of the CYPTION or "Easterns" occupies a much stronger position, and deserves a very careful investigation. It will therefore be serviceable first to state as clearly as possible the arguments that have been advanced in favour of this theory, and then to proceed with an examination of the evidence before us:—

(1.) In the Parma Codex de Rossi 12, containing the Pentateuch with Targum, and dated A.D. 1311, the following note is found:—

‡ תרגום זה נעתק מספר אשר הובא מארץ בבל והיה מנוקד למעלה בנקוד ארץ אשור והפכו ר' נתן ברבי מכיר בר' מנחם מאנקונא בר' שמואל בר' מכיר ממדינת אויירי בר' שלמה הוא אשר גדע קרן המתלוצץ בארץ מגנצא בשם המבורך בר' מנחם בר' צדוק הנקדן והגיהו ונסחו לנקוד מברני.

In this subscription the superlinear punctuation is distinctly called אונר ארץ אשור ; and it is contended that, as the terms Assyria and Babylonia are very loosely used and sometimes interchanged, the vowel-system in question may well claim a Babylonian, or, at any rate, a Babylonico-Assyrian origin, and therefore coincide with the

<sup>\*</sup> It will, however, be seen later on that the theory held by the author of this treatise is entirely unaffected by the question of the Karaite origin of this punctuation in its simpler form; see, however, § 36.

<sup>+</sup> Revue Critique, January 21, 1879, p. 455; Jewish Quarterly Review, ibidem, p. 233.

<sup>‡</sup> The wording of this epigraphis taken from Dr. Wickes' ביר" אַ מפֿרים, p. 142, note. Prof. Merx's wording of the same note differs from it in a few unessential points.

graphic signs used by the Masoretic schools of the כודנחאי. Similar testimony appears to be found in some of the Tschufut-Kale Bible Codices (48, 87, 103, 116), to which, according to extracts made by Prof. Strack (see מעמי ב״א ספרים, p. 145), certain readings with the superlinear punctuation are ascribed to the מדנחאי.

- (2.) It is argued that the omission of the euphonic יות in the כל in the suffixes יות הוא יות
- (3.) The pronunciation of the conjunctive איש יוֹ in words like אָשׁרָּאָ is also advanced as an argument in favour of this theory, it being contended that this is an Eastern or "Babylonian" peculiarity.
- (4.) From the fact that the Codex Babylonicus generally agrees with the requirements of the Masoretic schools of the יברואר, it is not unreasonably inferred that that MS. must have been written under the influence of the eastern Masoretic schools, and it is then further asserted that the superlinear punctuation itself must have had its origin in the same schools.
- (5.) A special Mosoretic argument is also drawn from the number of verses (1292)\s which the Masora ascribes to the Book of Isaiah, it being argued that a Masoretic note to chapter xx, verse 2, of Codex B. itself shows that the Palestinians did not divide up that verse, whilst the Babylonian schools made two verses of it, thus providing the missing verse needed to make up the number 1292; for without the division of xx, 2 there would only be 1291 verses.
- § 31. It will be seen that this theory rests—apart from the epigraph contained in *Codex de Rossi* 12—mainly on the Masoretic evidence afforded by the readings and marginal rubrics of the *Codex*

<sup>\*</sup> See § 23, (8.) † *Ibidem*, note. ‡ But see § 23, (6), note.

<sup>§</sup> The actual number given is אלף ומאתים ושבעים ושנים; see Pinsker, נתשעים; see Pinsker, Einleitung, p. 4.

Babylonicus.\* But even if the term נקוד ארץ אשור of the subscripton given above should unquestioningly be taken as identical with נקוד בבלי,† Dr. Wickes' objection to this evidence is quite strong enough to deprive it of the weight given to it by Pinsker and others: "Can we trust," so he asks, ‡ "the unsupported testimony of a single copyist? Is it likely that an Italian Jew, of the fourteenth century, should have known the origin of the system, when scribes living in the East were ignorant of it?" It may be fairly argued that Dr. Wickes overstates his case a little, for according to his own statement, § the scribes of the Tschufut-Kale Bible Codices 48, 87, 103, and 116, appear to share the view of the "single copyist." But this apparent underrating of evidence is rectified by what Dr. Wickes says || himself with regard to the scribes of the T'schufut-Kale Bible Codices in question: "The writers of these notices were doubtless in the same position as modern scholars. They had no other texts with Oriental readings, and naturally concluded that the texts which contained such readings, exhibited also the Oriental mode of punctuation."

The argument from the very considerable agreement of *Codex B*. with the STECTION has two weak points. In the first place, *Codex B*. can now no more be looked upon as practically co-extensive with our knowledge of the superlinear punctuation. It is only one MS. representing a certain highly developed phase of this vowel-system, but in our attempt to discover the origin of the system we must go back to the primary and simpler forms in which it appears. Supposing, therefore, that conclusive evidence could be furnished to show that *Codex B*. emanated from the Eastern Masoretic schools, the same evidence could not, without further proof, be held to apply equally to the earlier forms of the system, which, for aught we

<sup>\*</sup> The further argument based by Pinsker on the very frequent agreement of Codex B. with the readings of requires no special consideration, as there is no authority for connecting that Masorite with the Eastern Masoretic schools; see Jewish Quarterly Review, ibidem, p. 248, note 2.

<sup>+</sup> See § 36.

<sup>‡</sup> מעמי כ"א ספרים, p. 146.

<sup>§</sup> Dr. Wickes must also be regarded as a little biassed, for he adds: "The statements contained in the epigraphs to Jewish texts have always to be received cum grano."—Are the Jews the only forgers of epigraphs?

<sup>|</sup> Ibidem.

know, might have been connected with the Western schools. And secondly, it is most important to remember that *Codex B*. itself can by no means be described as agreeing with the Eastern readings entirely. The Western readings are, it is true, in a minority; but it is a minority which is numerous enough to vitiate any positive inference that might be drawn in favour of the exclusive Eastern origin of the MS. in question.\*

§ 32. It is true that the "argumentum e silentio" must not be pressed too far, but it must be allowed some weight as an auxiliary kind of evidence; and it is certainly a remarkable fact that a writer like Sa'adyah Gaon, who was called to occupy the chief place in the Academy of Sura some few years after the completion of the Codex B., should not even so much as mention the superlinear punctuation, when treating on subjects that are closely connected with problems offered by the peculiarities of that Codex. chapter iv, § 3,† of his commentary on the ספר יצירה he assigns the סגול to the article in ההרים, and lays down the rule that the final guttural in words like שׁמוֹל must be pronounced with "pathali," but entirely omits to mention that according to the Babylonian schools—with which he was then connected—the article in ההרים must be pointed with "pathaḥ," and that there was no "pathah furtive" in the superlinear punctuation. The only inference that can be drawn from Sa'adyah's silence ‡ is that this vowel-system was either not known, or, at any rate, not authorised in Babylonia in connection with the Hebrew text of the Bible in that Gaon's time, i.e., about the date when Codex B, was written.

<sup>\*</sup> See § 23, (9), note.

<sup>†</sup> See Wickes, op. cit., p. 145. The argument drawn by Dr. Wickes from Sa'adyah's mention of the סגול, as also from the Masoretic note to Ezek. xxiii, 5: (ibidem, p. 144), rests on a mistake. Dr. Wickes says that the superlinear punctuation has no טגול; but it was shown above (§ 22) that the sign : answers to the מגול in a certain limited measure. See also Geiger's Urschrift, pp. 485, 486.

<sup>‡</sup> Sa'adyah Gaon is only mentioned as a prominent example, for there appears to be "universal" silence among the scholars of the time with regard to the superlinear punctuation.

§ 33. Dr. Wickes who, in a measure, convincingly argues against the identity of the superlinear punctuation with the graphic signs of the "Easterns," is much less fortunate when he attempts to establish a theory of his own on the subject. It will be best to give Dr. Wickes' view in his own words: "The superlinear punctuation stands," he says, "outside the system common to the Oriental and Occidental schools, and would seem to have been an attempt to simplify and introduce regularity into the older system,"\* and lower down on the same page he states that "it was an Oriental, but not the Oriental system."

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Now it is quite true that the silence of Sa'adyah and others would be less startling, if the superlinear punctuation was only one of the systems used in Babylonia for the Hebrew text of the Bible, and not the system; but it must be admitted that even so Dr. Wickes' own "argumentum e silentio" would still retain some force. If the superlinear vowel-system was one of the acknowledged methods of Bible punctuation used in Babylonia, we can hardly suppose Sa'adyah Gaon to have been ignorant of it; and if he had knowledge of it, it seems very strange that he should not have referred to it in a passage like the one mentioned in § 32. The inference, therefore, would seem to be that the superlinear punctuation as used in the Codex Babylonicus was not even one of the authorised modes of Bible vocalisation in Babylonia.

But Dr. Wickes' view appears to be open to still graver doubts. He says that the superlinear punctuation "seems to have been an attempt to simplify" the older system. But the question must be asked: what style of the superlinear system was an attempt at simplification? Does Dr. Wickes mean that the composite punctuation of Codex B. embodies this attempt, or does he refer to the older and simpler superlinear style? If he means the former, the question may fairly be asked: how can a vowel-system which is itself a highly composite development of an older superlinear style of punctuation be looked upon as a simplification of a system which exhibits a different arrangement altogether? A complicated development which is at the same time a simplification is a notion that is not easy to grasp. And if it is the older and simpler style that Dr. Wickes had in mind, how is it that a movement towards fresh complication began almost immediately after the accomplished sim-

<sup>\*</sup> Wickes, op. cit., p. 146.

plification? Before an attempt to simplify could reasonably be made, one must suppose an older fully developed style in existence; after this would come a reaction against the complications of such a highly developed style, and it is in consequence of this reaction that the simpler superlinear system would be introduced. For these processes a fairly long period of time must be conceded, and yet we are asked to believe that at the beginning of the tenth century the simplified system itself was already fully developed into a highly composite one.

Judging from the very scanty notice that Dr. Wickes is disposed to give to the Yemen MSS.\* in the British Museum, it seems clear that he occupies the former of these alternative positions, and it is therefore unnecessary to enlarge on the difficulties in which the second position would seem to involve us. But the idea of simplification is in itself open to a serious objection in connection with systems of vocalisation. If a single authentic and indisputable instance of such a step could be brought forward in support of the theory proposed by Dr. Wickes, one should perhaps feel obliged to enter into a further examination of the whole subject; but it appears that the tendency is all in the opposite direction, and one is therefore forced to dissent from Dr. Wickes' view on this point, however much regard one may feel obliged to pay to his excellent studies on the accents.

§ 34. The fact seems to be that the origin of the superlinear punctuation is not to be sought in a sectarian body like the Karaïtes, or in a special Masoretic school like the Babylonian, but rather in that branch of Semitic speech which is known by the name of Jewish Aramaic. In speaking of the origin of this vowel-system, one must of course take the simplest style in which it appears as the main subject of investigation; and in doing so, one cannot help observing the following two important facts: (a) The superlinear punctuation as exhibited in Or. 1467 and 2363 presents us with a grammatically consistent vocalisation of the Targum, whilst the all but hopeless state in which the Jewish Aramaic versions appear in printed editions

<sup>\*</sup> Dr. Wickes is no doubt right in saying that he has found these MSS. of no service in his investigations into the use of the accents; but can the same be said with regard to the punctuation? It is quite possible for a careful student like Dr. Wickes to overlook points in one science whilst successfully engaged in the elucidation of another.

I do not expect that much weight—if any—will be attached by modern scholars to the view that the vocalisation of the Scriptures was constructed independently of tradition,‡ and that therefore no argument can be founded on the insufficiency of the superlinear system to express the "nuances" of the sublinear vocalisation. Such a view is on the face of it totally unreasonable. For if it be allowed at all that the Scriptures were read or rather chanted in the Synagogue Services, it is quite impossible to assume that any other except the pronunciation used at such services should be perpetuated in MSS. that were to a great extent written for the guidance and preparation of public liturgical readers; and Mr. Isidore Harris is no doubt right in saying § that "the substantial agreement in regard to

<sup>\*</sup> See Merx's Chrestomathia, Prolegomena, pp. viii, ix, where he justly says:—"Desperandum erat de instaurandis textibus, de scribenda grammatica..... At mutata est hæc rerum condicio Londinium allatis ex Arabia meridionali codicibus.... Vocales in libris tiberiensibus picti ex libris babylonicis hausti sunt... Vocalismus babylonicorum librorum in Arabia sæc. xii scriptorum in rebus gravissimis cum vocalismo syriaco edesseno convenit, ubi recedit, semper et eodem modo recedit..." Whilst not agreeing with Prof. Merx in the use of the terms "tiberian" and "babylonian," his view of the relation of the Jewish-Aramaic to the two systems is no doubt the correct one.

<sup>+ § 6.</sup> 

<sup>‡</sup> See Jewish Quarterly Review, pp. 239, 240.

<sup>§</sup> Loc. cit.

punctuation between the Babylonian and Palestinian schools, notwithstanding that they worked in independence of each other, is itself a proof that the system common to both was shaped on the lines of tradition. It was this fidelity to tradition which gave the Masorites their name."

But it might be argued that, although the superlinear punctuation does not express all the "nuances" of the traditional pronunciation, it may have been the first important stage of a graphic rendering of such pronunciation, and that it is only natural that greater perfectness should be the result of further elaboration and development. But even if this be so, it would at any rate follow that the simple superlinear punctuation could not be held to do "sufficient" justice to the traditional pronunciation of the Scriptures, and that, whilst the Jewish Aramaic would be likely to retain this form of vocalisation, an onward movement for the further development of graphic signs for the Hebrew Scriptures would be a necessity that was likely to be felt very strongly.

§ 35. If the superlinear punctuation was originally associated with the Jewish Aramaic (and possibly also with such Hebrew writings as were in their nature less sacred than the Scriptures), the use of the sublinear vowel-signs with the Divine Name in the oldest MSS. of this kind, viz., Or. 1467 and 2363, would be at once explained. It was only natural that when the attempt was made to transfer the profane vocalisation to the sacred Scriptures, the punctuators should have felt conscientious scruples with regard to the application of these signs to the Sacred Name.

This theory would also explain the motive which prompted so many scribes to vocalise the Hebrew text after the sublinear and the Targum after the superlinear method in such a large number of MSS., and the subsequent addition of the sublinear signs to MSS. in which the Hebrew had been provided with the superlinear system would also require no further explanation.

Before going further, it may also be useful to add the testimony of Jacob Sappir as to the tradition of the Yemenite Jews themselves on the subject. In the second part of his *Reisebeschreibung*, entitled ספיר p. 198, p. 198, he says:† "Und sie (i.e., die Juden in Yemen)

<sup>\*</sup> See § 14.

<sup>†</sup> See Dr. H. Strack in the Zeitschrift für Lutherische Theologie, 1875, p. 607.

sagten mir, dass man diese Punktation zu profanen zwecken anwende und mit ihr nur das Targum und die Gebethücher wersehe, nicht aber die Bibelcodices." Traditional evidence of this sort may not be very weighty in itself; but if such evidence is found supported by several other important considerations, it is impossible not to accord to it its proper recognition in a critical enquiry like the one before us.\*

§ 36. The correctness of the theory proposed here becomes more apparent still, if a comparison be instituted between the superlinear punctuation and the two kinds of vowel-signs used in another branch of the Aramaic family of dialects, namely the Syriac. It has been already shown † that the superlinear sign  $\preceq$  is only a variation of the Jacobite vowel-sign  $\overset{?}{\smile}$ , and it has also been suggested that  $\overset{\checkmark}{\smile}$  probably represents the letter  $\omega$  which is used in ancient Syriac MSS. instead of  $^{\circ}$ . † These two vowel-signs therefore appear to have been borrowed from the Jacobite or Edessene vowel-system. A further glance at the various systems of vocalisation will reveal the fact that the signs  $\overset{?}{\smile}$ ,  $\overset{?}{\smile}$ , and  $\overset{?}{\smile}$  bear a very close relationship to the Nestorian system of punctuation. It therefore seems only natural to assume that in the superlinear punctuation we are presented with

<sup>\*</sup> It was with genuine delight that the author of this treatise, after having arrived at definite results in his enquiry, found that so great a scholar as Derenbourg had already guessed the true bearings of the case: "Die babylonische Punktation ist vielleicht ursprünglich nur für das Targum verwendet worden . . . und hat daher einen profanen Charakter behalten." See the quotation op. cit., p. 607. The subsequent discovery of so much evidence in favour of Dr. D.'s opinion must be looked upon as a strong testimony to his scholarly insight. Dr. H. Strack says himself on p. 608 of the same article ("Die Biblischen und Masoretischen Handschriften der Krim"): "für die Annahme, dass der babylonischen Punktation (seit wann?) ein weniger heiliger Charakter zugeschrieben sei, scheint mir der Umstand zu sprechen, dass in der Masora auch solcher (Tschufut-Kalescher) Codices, in welchen die babylonische Textrecension nicht erwähnt wird, denen also babylonische Codices nicht vorlagen, die besprochenen Bibelwörter zuweilen mit babylonischen Vocalzeichen verschen sind." Dr. Strack's query "seit wann?" can, I think, be answered with "from the very first."

<sup>†</sup> See § 9.

<sup>‡</sup> Ibidem. It is of course not suggested that the Jews adopted signs straight from the Greeks, but that they borrowed them from the Syriac, when their power as letters had become merged into their nature as mere signs.

a vowel-system that combines Jacobite with Nestorian elements,\* in fact with a system which is in its nature very similar to the mixed Jacobite-Nestorian Syriac vocalisation that is found in later MSS. of the Western school, and in many of our printed Syriac books.†

Another remarkable testimony to the mixed Jacobite-Nestorian character of the superlinear punctuation, namely, the differentiation of  $\frac{1}{2}$  (= u = 0) from  $\frac{1}{2}$  (= o = 0) side by side with the Jacobite pronunciation of the 0, has also been already noticed; and the absence of the also appears less strange, if this theory be adopted, for the distinction between  $\frac{1}{2}$  (=  $\tilde{e}$ ) is by no means uniformly observed in the Nestorian system,  $\frac{1}{2}$  and the sign  $\frac{1}{2}$  has to do duty for both  $\tilde{e}$  and  $\tilde{e}$  in the Jacobite punctuation, so that there appears to be a certain indefiniteness about the e sound in all the Aramaic systems of vocalisation.

It seems besides very natural that the Jewish Aramaic should partake of the characteristics—both in pronunciation and application of graphic signs—of the closely allied Syriac dialect, and it is also not unimportant to observe that the term בקור ארץ אשור in the subscription of the Parma Codex de Rossi, 12,\$ need not, strictly speaking, mean more than the vocalisation used with the Aramaic branch of Semitic speech, more especially so if it be considered that the designation "Syrians" is merely an abbreviation of "Assyrians."

§ 37. A system of graphic signs derived from combined Jacobite-Nestorian sources could not be framed before the beginning of the eighth century, or at the earliest before the end of the seventh century; and as there is no evidence to show the previous use of such vowels, one may well acquiesce in this estimate of the earliest appearance of a complete system of punctuation among the Jews. At first only Jewish Aramaic, or perhaps also non-Biblical Hebrew, would be thus vocalised. With regard to the text of the Scriptures themselves a good deal of prejudice would have to be overcome, before vowel-signs would at all be allowed to intrude into the sacred

<sup>\*</sup> Only the u sound was represented by a sign taken from the Hebrew alphabet  $(\frac{1}{2})$ , probably under the Arabic influence, where  $\frac{1}{2}$  is only a small  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,

<sup>†</sup> See Noeldeke's Syrische Grammatik, p. 8.

<sup>‡</sup> Noeldeke, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>§</sup> See § 30.

text. Gradually, however, the principle of utility and the general custom in connection with the Aramaic would overcome the prejudice. Vowel-signs would probably first be allowed in schools for the instruction of children.\* and from there they would pass into general use among all classes of the Jewish community. It is probably at this stage that the need of a more expressive vowelsystem would be felt for the traditional pronunciation of the Hebrew text of the Scriptures, and more especially of the Pentateuch; and it is here suggested that the sublinear vowel-system was the result of an effort thus made not only to invent a sufficiently expressive system of punctuation † for the Scriptures, but also to formulate a scheme of signs that would not be likely to be confused with the punctuation used in profane literature. It is probable that the "pathah" (-) is in form only a simplification of the superlinear sign = , t and therefore a lineal descendant through the Syriac sign  $\frac{y}{}$  of the Greek  $\alpha$ , and that the Kāmes ( $\frac{1}{}$ ) is merely a slight modification of the superlinear 4.8 All the other vowel-signs are clearly of Nestorian origin, | so that the sublinear punctuation is in reality nothing else than a modified form of the mixed superlinear Jacobite-Nestorian vocalisation, and it has been already shown that the pronunciation of both  $\stackrel{\angle}{=}$  and  $\stackrel{-}{=}$  like the a in small, and the presence in both of  $\dot{j} = \dot{z}$  point to the practical identity of the two systems as far as the quality of sounds is concerned. The placing of the signs under the consonants instead of above them, may have been due partly to the desire of making a difference between the sacred and profane methods, and partly to the confusion with the accents which the superlinear style would have occasioned; for the accentual forms  $\ddot{\exists}$ ,  $\ddot{\exists}$ ,  $\ddot{\exists}$ , bear a very close

\* See § 29.

<sup>+</sup> For the similar efforts made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the superlinear punctuation itself, see §§ 4, 5.

I A remarkable confirmation of this view seems to be Dr. Franz Delitzsch's observation in his "Præfatio" to Baer's edition of Job, p. iv, that in the Tschufut-Kale Codex 8a, the sublinear pathah is formed like a parallelogram.

<sup>§</sup> It is true that Or. 4445 already presents the form - for the Kames, thus appearing to give an air of greater probability to the remark of Elias Levita that this was the original form of the sign; but it is not at all unlikely that = is a natural modification of -. In Or. 1476 and 2363 the is often written in

<sup>¶</sup> See §§ 11, 12.

resemblance to some of the vowel-signs, and are only distinguished from them by their position over the line.

It is clear that the establishment of the sublinear system in the form in which it is at present known, could not have taken place before the middle or latter part of the eighth century, as at least half a century ought to be allowed for the overcoming of prejudices and the development of the new system. Or. 4445, in all probability of the middle of the ninth century, is the oldest known MS. of this kind at present; and if the theory proposed here be correct, we can only look forward to the discovery of sublinear MSS. of about three-quarters of a century older than Or. 4445. More ancient codices would either be without vowels altogether, or exhibit the sublinear style in process of formation.\*

§ 38. The sublinear vowel-system thus became the authorised style of punctuation for the Scriptures, and there is no ground for thinking that its use was confined to the Palestinian schools. On the contrary, there is sufficient evidence—though of a negative kind +-to show that the Babylonian schools used it equally with the Palestinian. Codex B., however, makes us acquainted with another early movement in the direction of vocalic development. Not long after the introduction of the sublinear style, an attempt was made to represent the traditional pronunciation of the Scriptures on different lines from the authorised method; and Codex B. presents us with a perfect specimen of the result of these labours. That this MS, was written at a time when the sublinear punctuation was in entire possession of the field is clear, not only from the fact that Or. 4445 bears distinct traces of greater antiquity than Codex B., but also from the use of the sublinear signs in -53, בה, and from the scrupulous avoidance of punctuating the Name יהוה with the superlinear signs when read like בארני. The inconvenient identity of שוא נת, מוא נשוא בה, and points to a desire to assimilate the superlinear punctuation as much as possible to the authorised method, § and the not infrequent use of

<sup>\*</sup> Or. 4445 exhibits the use of the and in its earlier stage.

<sup>†</sup> See § 32.

<sup>‡</sup> Compare § 35.

<sup>§</sup> The adoption of the testifies to the same endeavour; see § 20.

sublinear signs in the Masoretic rubrics of that codex also shows that that style was perfectly familiar to its scribe or scribes.

But the question must be asked: for what object and under what influences was the punctuation of Codex B. elaborated, and how are its considerable variations from the authorised method to be explained? To give a satisfactory answer to these legitimate enquiries is as yet impossible, as no sufficient data are known on which to form a judgment. That Arabic influence was at work in connection with it has already been noted,\* and it is probable that the retention of the a sound in so large a number of cases in which the sublinear style has the book, as well as the absence of the "furtive pathah," is also due to this influence. On the other hand, it is certain that the scribe or scribes of Codex B, inclined much more to the Babylonian Masoretic schools than to the Palestinian; but the complete silence of Sa'adyah and his contemporaries on the peculiarities exhibited in Codex B, is on the other hand sufficient to prove that the vocalising methods followed therein were not in accord with the authorised use.

It is true that in a certain direction, namely, in the differentiation of long vowels from short ones, Codex B. is much more thoroughgoing than the usual system; † but it is hardly likely that such stronger differentiation should have been the main object of its introduction, considering that in pronunciation itself the difference from the authorised system was considerable. One should be inclined to ascribe its elaboration to a schismatical body who refused to be tied by the authorised method of the schools, and proceeded to formulate a system that was more in accord with its own habits of pronunciation. This would remind us of the Karaïte theory already discussed, with this difference that instead of ascribing the invention of the original superlinear system to the Karaïtes, one might be tempted to concede to them that peculiar development of it which is presented to us in Codex B. That such a solution of the question is a possibility has already been hinted at, ‡ but sufficient certainty there is not.

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<sup>\*</sup> See § 22.

<sup>†</sup> Ewald already noticed that the punctuation of Codex B. presented "eine in einigen Theilen durchgebildetere, in anderen aber weniger ausgebildete Unterscheidung der Vocale." Die Assyrisch-hebräische Functuation, fahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft, 1848, pp. 160–172.

<sup>1</sup> See § 29.

§ 39. The system of accentuation that first meets us in the Codex Babylonicus may safely be looked upon as an after-thought. Having elaborated a new composite vowel-system for the Scriptures, its inventors felt bound to produce a fresh series of signs for the cantillation as well. Further information on the subject will be found in Appendix II of Wickes' work on the Prose-accents, and it need only be remarked here that the forms of Hebrew letters that are still clearly visible in several of the signs may safely be taken as a proof of their recent introduction. If the signs in question had any pretence to antiquity, they would hardly have retained the forms 7, 7, 7, and v, but would, judging by all analogy, have undergone changes which would have partly deprived their forms of their original identity with the letters of the alphabet. It must also be noticed that the new accentual signs are in their forms so different from the vowel-signs that no fear of confusion \* needed any more to be entertained. One is justified in assuming that the ordinary accentual forms are older than the sublinear vowels which had to be placed under the line in order to avoid confusion; but that for the same reason a new series of superlinear accents were formed, when the punctuation of Codex B. was brought into use. The conjunctive accents, however, were left untouched, as their forms gave no fear of being confused with the vowel-signs.

§ 40. The modified form of the composite superlinear punctuation exemplified by the St. Petersburg Codices 132, 134 presents to us the last known phase of its development. It is quite possible that when the first attempt at adaptation was made, the Pentateuch itself was exempted from the change, as peculiar sanctity has always been accorded to the Law in the more restricted sense of the word. Later on the prejudice would wear out, and Nos. 132, 133 (embracing the Pentateuch) would then represent this fresh advance, and it has been shown already † that the various peculiarities of these MSS clearly show a conscious effort to assimilate the composite superlinear punctuation as much as possible with the traditional pronunciation.

§ 41. The sequence then in which the different styles of punctuating the Hebrew and the Jewish Aramaic are to be taken is as follows:—

- I. The simple superlinear punctuation, as exhibited in Or. 1467 and 2363, of which the styles of 1470 and 2227 are later partial developments.
- II. The sublinear punctuation as already shown, barring the ביתג, in Or. 4445.
  - III. The punctuation of the Codex Babylonicus.
- IV. The style of vocalisation exemplified in the St. Petersburg MSS. Nos. 132, 133.

In a larger view of the subject, all these styles of vocalisation are to be traced to the combined elements of the Jacobite-Nestorian punctuation, and these in their turn are, as is well known, derived from Greek vowel-letters on the one hand, and developed from the ancient diacritic signs already found in Syriac MSS. of the fifth century on the other hand.



## AN INSCRIPTION OF KHUENATEN,

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY

A. C. BRYANT, B.A., AND F. W. READ.

The following inscription is copied from a rectangular slab of black granite in the British Museum (Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 1000). The text is arranged in two horizontal lines carved on the vertical faces of the slab, and running completely round it. What is evidently a somewhat faulty copy of this inscription is given in Sharpe's "Egyptian Inscriptions," Second Series, Plate 48, where it is said to be taken "from a block in a garden in Cairo." Nothing is known of the way in which the slab came into the possession of the British Museum, nor of its history prior to the time when it was noticed by Mr. Sharpe.

This monument is of interest as being one of the few memorials which the national collection possesses of Khuenaten or Amenhetep IV, the so-called "heretic king," and as illustrating on a small scale the religion which he favoured, and the attitude of his successors to him and to it.

The beginning of the religious and social changes which culminated under Khuenaten is to be found in the reign of his father Amenhetep III (about 1500 B.C.). This king had married Thii, a daughter of one of the Mesopotamian kings or chiefs, and to her was doubtless due the special reverence paid to Aten, the god of the solar disk, which made its first appearance in the reign of her husband, and reached its highest point in that of her son. This son, to whose reign our monument belongs, married Nefer-neferu-Aten-Neferti, also a Mesopotamian princess, and her influence added to that of his mother seems to have completed the revolution already begun. In the early part of his reign he assumed the name of Khu-en-Aten (glory of Aten) in lieu of his ancestral name of Amen-hetep (servant of Amen). It was probably about this time that he commenced his crusade against the god of Thebes, obliterating the name of Amen on the monuments, and ultimately removing

his court from the old capital to the new city of Khut-Aten on the site of the modern Tell el-Amarna. Here are the tombs of some of his officials; here also were found some six years ago the famous "Tell el-Amarna tablets," and quite recently the grave of Khuenaten himself.

It must not be imagined that Khuenaten was merely a worshipper of the physical disk of the sun. He is certainly represented in an attitude of adoration before it, and there is ample evidence that it was held in great honour; but this was only as the emblem or visible representation of the true Aten, as the instrument through which he poured his blessings upon the world. That the word Aten is used in two senses can readily be shown. The forms Aten and pa aten are of constant occurrence in the same inscription, and the use of articles was so rare in the "lapidary" style, that some strong reason for the insertion of the pa must have existed. But the argument is concluded by the phrase A The A Aten en pa aten, which can only be translated "Aten of the Disk." ["Denkmäler," Abth. III, Band VI, Bl. 97 e]. Although, however, pa aten must always be rendered "the Disk," the word aten by itself is by no means to be taken in every case as the name of the god, and in several places in this inscription it occurs in the sense of "the Disk."

The "heresy" of which Khuenaten was guilty did not consist simply in the worship of Aten. This was quite legitimate, and was practised both before and after his reign without provoking hostility. It was the adoration of Aten as the chief god (exalting the name of Aten,\* as we read in the inscriptions), and above all the attempt to blot out the very name of Amen, which excited the hatred of the priestly class. But it is hardly true, as has been asserted, that the religion of Khuenaten was a monotheism. In this slab alone, in addition to Aten we find Horus and Ra mentioned. It may be, however, that Khuenaten regarded these as merely so many names of the one god. The inscription itself states that Horus rises from the horizon in his form of the light which is in the Disk, and this

<sup>\*</sup> The state of the

would certainly appear to identify him with Aten. The word Ra probably possessed a double signification; either that of the physical sun simply; or the sun-god apart from his particular aspects typified by Horus, Aten, and many others.

Besides Khuenaten there are mentioned in this inscription his wife Nefer-neferu-Aten-Neferti, and his daughter Aten-merit. Altogether contrary to custom, the wife is only mentioned incidentally as the mother of the daughter, the object of the inscription being to glorify Khuenaten and Aten-merit. Among the numerous inscriptions of this reign in the "Denkmäler," not one is to be found similar in this respect. Aten-merit was the eldest of the king's seven daughters (he had no son), and she married Sāa-nekht Kheperu-ka-Ra, one of the three ephemeral kings who succeeded her father.

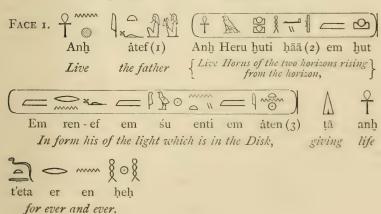
It is worth noting that in the "Denkmäler" it is the Khaibit-Ra of the queen mother Thii which is spoken of, while in our text it is the Khaibit-Ra of Princess Aten-merit. Perhaps two different temples are intended, or it may be that at the death of Thii her Khaibit-Ra passed into the possession of her grand-daughter.

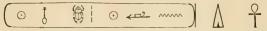
The erasures on our slab are of considerable interest. The one at the beginning of the upper line on Face 3 has every appearance of being accidental; the others were certainly intentional. The queen's name has been erased in both places where it occurs, so that it can only be made out by one who knows what to look for. It is particularly to be noted that the word *àten* is nowhere mutilated, except in the queen's name, though it occurs in no less than nine other places. The same fact is observable on other monuments of this reign; in some cases the name of Aten seems to have been carefully preserved when the bulk of an inscription has been

mercilessly chiselled out ("Denkmäler," Abth. III, Band VI, Bl. 92 and 93). This goes to show that the attack upon Khuenaten's monuments was of a personal rather than a religious nature, and quite unlike that of Khuenaten upon those of his predecessors. That was pure religious fanaticism. He indeed defaced the royal cartouches, but only because they contained the name of Amen; elsewhere great care was taken to preserve the (•) which is commonly written at the end of that god's name. But Khuenaten and all his family were hated personally, probably on account of their foreign origin and relationship. There are slight traces of the erasure of the name of Thii, Khuenaten's mother ("Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bde. V and VI, Bl. 86 and 101), and more obvious signs of the hatred of Khuenaten's successors. Yet these latter had adopted the old Egyptian worship. The name of Ai has been erased in one place where he is represented worshipping some half-dozen of the traditional gods! ("Denkmäler," Abth. III, Band VI, Bl. 114g.) We are therefore forced to the conclusion that it was the "Khuenaten dynasty" (if we may so call it) upon which the anger of the later kings fell. This we may consider as beginning with his mother Thii and terminating with the brief and disturbed reigns of Sāa-nekht and Tutānkh-Amen, his sons-in-law, and Ai, the husband of his nurse. After them came Heru-em-heb, who restored the old order.

We wish in conclusion to acknowledge our indebtedness to Mr. Renouf for the assistance he has so kindly and readily rendered us in preparing this paper.

UPPER LINE OF HIEROGLYPHS.





Rā nefer heperu Rā uā en tā ānh Nefer - kheperu Ra - ua-en-Ra, giver of life.

Rā ānh em maāt neb son of the Sun, living by rule, lord of diadems,





mes en suten hemit urit Nefer neferu Aten nefer tiith born of royal wife great Nefer - neferu - Aten - Nefer - tii

3 808 anhth t'eta living for ever and ever.

### LOWER LINE OF HIEROGLYPHS.

Aten ānh ur åm heb neb senen Aten, living, great in the panegyry, lord of the orbit, 210

Haibit Rā (6)

en suten sat en hat - ef mer - ef of the royal daughter of body his, beloved his,

Aten merit

Aten - merit

mes en suten hemit urit - ef nebt taui
born of royal wife great his, lady of the two earths,

# THE THE STATE OF T

Nefer neferu Aten nefer tiith anhth snebtha Nefer - neferu - Aten - Nefer - tii living and strong

t'eta heh em per
for ever and ever, in the house

Face 4.  $\begin{picture}(200,0) \put(0,0){\line(1,0){100}} \put(0,0){\line$ 

em Hut Aten
in Khut - Aten.

#### FREE TRANSLATION.

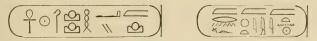
Hail to the father "Hail-to-Horus-of-the-two-horizons-rising-from-the-horizon-in-his-form-of-the-light-which-is-in-the-Disk," who giveth life for ever and ever; the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, whose attribute is unchangeableness, the lord of the two divisions of the world, Nefer-kheperu-Ra-ua-en-Ra, who giveth life; the Son of the Sun, whose attribute is unchangeableness, the lord of diadems, Khuenaten, great in his duration: and to the king's daughter, the issue of his body, whom he loves, Aten-merit (born of the great queen-consort, Nefer-neferu-Aten-Neferti, who liveth for ever and ever).

And hail to Aten, the living, who presides over the panegyry, lord of the orbit, lord of the disk, lord of heaven, and lord of earth, in the Khaibit-Ra of the king's daughter, the issue of his body, whom he loves, Aten-merit (born of his great queen-consort, the lady of the two divisions of the world, Nefer-neferu-Aten-Neferti, who liveth in strength for ever and ever); that is, in the House-of-the-rising-of-the-Disk, which is in the Dwelling-of-Aten, even in Khutaten.

#### NOTES.

- (1.) Such phrases as these are translated by some Egyptologists "the living father," "the living Horus," etc. This translation, however, is opposed to the grammatical structure of the language, and is least of all admissible when anh is followed by the name of a god. Names of gods frequently precede words which by ordinary rules of construction they should follow, and would certainly not be placed after words which by the ordinary rules should follow them.
- (2.) Mr. Renouf considers \\ in this case expressive of the doubling of the vowel.
- (3.) The use of phrases of this kind within cartouches appears to be peculiar to Khuenaten and his successor Sāanekht. The separation into two names is quite arbitrary, as the sense requires us to read them as one. They are constructed on a totally different pattern from the royal names of any other period, if, indeed, they can be properly called "names" at all. Khuenaten, as we see, used besides two names after the manner of his predecessors, and before these he wrote the customary royal titles, but the cartouches we are now considering are not accompanied by any titles of royalty, and

were therefore probably regarded as mere epithets. We find as variants



("Denkmäler," Abth. III, Band VI, Bl. 100 c). This form was adopted by Sāanekht. ("Denkmäler," Abth. III, Band VI, Bl. 99 a.)

- (4.) Variant  $\bigcirc \emptyset$  ("Denkmäler," Abth. III, Band VI, Bl. 98 a). As to the expression  $\uparrow \frown \bigcirc$  see Renouf, "Hibbert Lectures," pp. 119–121.
- (5.) Restored from parallel inscriptions ("Denkmäler," Abth. III, Band VI, Bl. 91 i and 105 c). For the value = \( \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{2} \) see the banner-titles of Thothmes III as given in the "Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bd. V, Bl. 33 c and f.
- (6.) This expression occurs three times in the "Denkmäler;" Abth. III, Band VI, Bl. 101 and 102. Both these plates are from the tomb of an architect and sculptor of Khuenaten, and represent the monarch and his mother visiting a newly-erected temple. On Bl. 101 we read of an and on one side of a representation of the Disk on Bl. 102 of and on one side of a representation which is repeated with hardly any variation on the opposite side.

The first sentence is translated by Brugsch as follows: "Introduction of the queen mother Thi to behold her sun-shadow."\* The phrase of the passage a different translation must evidently be adopted, although

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Geschichte Aegypten's unter den Pharaonen," Seite 428, Lin. 18, 19. English edition, vol. i, p. 502. As is customary with him, he gives no reference, but he is evidently translating the passage we have quoted.

none has yet been proposed. Mr. Renouf suggests that it is the name of the temple, just as Khutaten is the name of the town. In support of this view it may be pointed out that the expression occurs nowhere in the "Denkmäler" except in connection with the visit to the temple. The first part of the sentence on Bl. 102 is repeated in several other plates in the "Denkmäler," and sev

In our inscription there appears to be a double parallelism, and the phrase is explained by it would seem therefore that Khaibit-Ra and Per-haa-en-pa-aten are alternative names of a temple of Aten in the new capital of Khuenaten, but not necessarily of the great temple of the town. The phrases would seem rather to suggest on the contrary that some small chapel for more strictly private devotion is intended.

The name Khaibit-Ra (Shade or shadow of Ra) is certainly a strange one for a temple, but not more so than Khut-Aten (horizon of the disk) for a town. So too the absence of any determinative of a building is not such a forcible objection in this case as it would be in a text of any other period, for the name of the town itself,  $\bigcap$   $\bigcap$  , as usually spelt, is similarly deficient.

What idea the expression "Shade of Ra" as the name of a building could convey to the mind of an Egyptian must still be doubtful. To explain it literally, as a protection from the sun, seems very unsatisfactory, although not perhaps impossible. It is also possible that the temple may have been regarded as an emanation or visible expression of Ra, just as a shadow is a representation of the object from which it is thrown. The word Khaibit however, like our own word "shade" had another meaning. The being of both gods and men comprised several principles,—body, soul, ka, and khaibit; but it is difficult to understand that a building could receive the name of one of these principles of the Sun-

god. A curious name which presents some likeness to this is found, however, in China, where a noted Buddhist temple is called T'in Dong, "Heavenly Boy," in memory of a celestial messenger who appeared to a hermit there.\* If the tale of its origin were lost, the name "Heavenly Boy" would be as great a puzzle as "Shade of Ra."

The determinative is probably a scribe's error for in.

\* Rev. A. E. Moule, "Four Hundred Millions," pp. 217, 218.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 7th March, 1893, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:-

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (President).—"The Book of the Dead:" Translation and Commentary (continuation).



### **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

# VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

Fifth Meeting, March 7th, 1893.

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## SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

# **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

# THE SOCIETY

OF

# BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

Fifth Meeting, 7th March, 1893.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President, in the chair.

The President mentioned that, reviving the Archaic Classes formerly held by the Society, he would deliver a series of lectures upon the Egyptian language and writing, at the rooms of the Society. The first lecture to be held on Wednesday week next, the 15th, at half-past four in the afternoon.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Tell Amarna Tablets
Translated by C. R. Conder, Major R.E., &c., &c. London.
8vo. 1893.

From the Anthropological Institute:—Notes and Queries on Anthropology, edited for the Council of the Anthropological Institute, by John George Garson, M.D., and Charles Hercules Read, F.S.A. Second Edition. London. 8vo. 1892.

[No. cxiv.]

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittîm o Hethei e delle loro migrazioni, Chap. XXIV.

Estratto dalla Civiltà Cattolica. Serie XV. Vol. V. 1893.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 7th February, 1893, and elected Members of the Society:—

Rev. A. Schmitz, Curate Herzogenrathe, bei Aachen, Germany.

Harry R. G. Inglis, 20, Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh.
Pundit S. E. Gopalacharlu, South Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras,

India. Major David Fitzgerald Downing, R.A., The Arsenal, Woolwich.

Major David Fitzgerald Downing, R.A., The Arsenal, Woolwich. Professor William Matthew Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., 32, Torrington Square, W.C.

Miss Bradbury, Rivers Vale, Ashton-under-Lyne.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 2nd May, 1893:—

Miss Nash, Cranham, Kents Road, Torquay, Devon.

Mrs. A. Heymanson, 13, Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.

Rev. James Davidson, B.D., Free Church Manse, North Berwick, Scotland.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Remarks were added by Rev. C. J. Ball; Rev. R. Gwynne; Rev. A. Löwy; Rev. Jas. Marshall; J. Pollard; and Jos. Offord, Junr.

Thanks were returned for this communication.



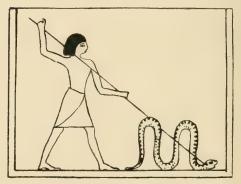


#### PLATE XIII.

### BOOK OF THE DEAD.

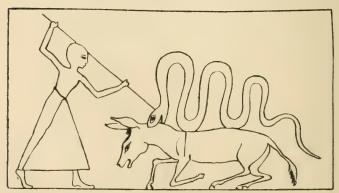


CHAPTER XXXIX. Sâqara. Grab 24. Lepsius, Denkmäler, Abth. III, Bl. 265.



CHAPTER XXXIX.

Papyrus Musée du Louvre, 93.



CHAPTER XL. Papyrus, Leyden Museum, No. IV.

#### BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

#### CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Chapter whereby one liveth by the breath of air in the Nether world, and keepeth back Merta.

I am the god in Lion form; the heir of R $\hat{a}$  and Tmu in Chemmis (1), the Master in their halls.

Those who are in their cells (2) accompany me as guides. I have made my way and gone round the heavenly Ocean on the path of the Bark of Râ, and standing on the girders\* of the Bark of Râ.

I utter his words to the men of the present generation † and I repeat his words to him who is deprived of breath (3).

I spy out for my father  $R\hat{a}$  at sunset, compressing my mouth (4), and feeding upon life.

I live in Tattu, and I repeat my life after death like the Sun, daily.

#### Notes.

There are two recensions of this chapter, and both are found in the papyrus Lb. They are called by M. Naville, 38A and 38B. The latter is that adopted as canonical by all the manuscripts of a later date, and is the one here translated. The other recension is longer, and contains passages which are also found in other chapters, to which it accordingly furnishes important variants. It may possibly be older than those chapters.

I. In Chemmis. The name of the place where Isis gave birth to Horus is in the Pyramid texts written (Pepi I, 428), and (Merenra I, 683), all-liebit or liebit-all; but simply liebit in the texts of the eighteenth dynasty, as in the annals of

<sup>\* 」</sup>面面门上一.

<sup>+</sup> The men of the present generation, the Rehit.

2. In their cells: I have a sand sut." Here 38A has: I have a some paper by I have a some p

3. Deprived of breath, 'the dead.' In 38A, the privation of breath is mentioned but in a different connection. But the text of the passage is uncertain. Here as in Chapter 41, \( \Bar{\Bar{A}} \) 'the Breathless one' is Osiris.

4. Compressing my mouth: \( \) is the ancient reading, not \( \) is the ancient reading, as in the more recent texts. The same observation applies to the name of the god in Chapter 125, 15.

\* Here the king is compared to the god called To A like and in the next line A. And Thothmes IV (Denkm. III, 63) is compared

#### CHAPTER XXXIX.

Chapter whereby the Serpent Rekrek is repulsed in the Nether-world.

Back! down with thee, stabber (1) from Apepi! Drown in the lake of Heaven, in the spot wherein thy father ordered that thy murder should be carried out. Away from this birth-place of Râ, the god encompassed by\* his terrors.

I am Râ, encompassed by his terrors.

Back! the dark demon and the sword which he maketh to flash! Râ flingeth down thy words; thy face is twisted round by the gods; thy whole heart is torn out by the Lynx goddess; chains are flung upon thee by the Scorpion goddess; and slaughter is dealt upon thee by Maāt.

The gods who are on the roads overthrow thee.

Apep falleth down, the enemy of Râ.

O thou who removest the bolt from the East of Heaven at the stormy voice of bellowings, and openest the gates of the Horizon before Râ: he cometh forth fainting from the wounds.

I am a doer of thy will, I am a doer of thy will, O Râ.

I have done well,  $\dot{I}$  have done well; I have done to the satisfaction of Râ.

And I raise shouts of acclamation at thy success at fettering, O Râ. Apep is fallen and is in bonds.

The gods of the South, the North, the West and the East bind him; their bonds are upon him.

Aker (2) overthroweth him, and the lord of the ruddy sky doth bind him.

Râ is satisfied; Râ is satisfied; Râ maketh his progress peacefully.

Apep falleth; Apep goeth down; the enemy of Râ. And more grave for thee is the proof (3) than that sweet proof through the Scorpion goddess, which she practised for thee, in the pain which she suffered . . . . (4).

Be thou emasculate, O Apep, enemy of Râ; be thou repulsed whom Râ hateth; look behind thee: a chopper is over thy head to divide it into two parts, and those who are above thy head assail it. Thy bones are broken, thy limbs are severed under the direction of Aker, O Apep, enemy of Râ.

<sup>\* 1</sup> between, in the midst of, surrounded by.

Thy boatmen [O Râ], succeed in measuring out thy path, and a journey, with which thou art satisfied; a progress, a progress towards home; and the progress which thou hast made towards home is a fair progress.

Let no evil hindrances come forth against me from thy mouth in what thou doest towards me.

I am Sutu, who causeth the storms and tempests, and who goeth round in the Horizon of Heaven, like to one whose heart is veiled.

Tmu saith: Let your countenances be raised up, ye soldiers of Râ, and drive back Nebtu in presence of the Divine Circle.

Seb saith: establish those who are upon their thrones in the middle of the Bark of Chepera; seize your shields and spears, and hold them in your hands.

Hathor saith: Seize your daggers.

Nut saith: Come and drive back Nebtu, who cometh against him who dwelleth in his shrine, and maketh his voyage in solitary guise: the Inviolate god, the resistless one.

O ye gods in your Divine cycles, who travel round the lake of Emerald, come and defend the Great one who is in the shrine from which all the Divine cycle proceedeth. Let glory be ascribed to him, and let honour be given to him. Oh then, proclaim him with me.

Nut saith, the mother of the gods: He cometh forth and findeth his path, and maketh captures of the gods; he hath the first place in the two houses of Nut.

Seb standeth still, the great cycle of the gods is in terror, Hathor is under terror, and Râ is triumphant over Apep.

#### Notes.

The extreme uncertainty of the text is such that no translation at present can be other than conjectural.

1. Back, down with thee, Stabber. The first word is clear enough; not so the two next.

Are we to read \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) or \( \) \( \) ? for each of M. Naville's authorities gives a different word. The last of these readings has some support in a subsequent passage, but almost all copies have \( \) \( \) \( \) . There has evidently been a confusion between \( \) and \( \) \( \) and the determinative \( \) of the latter

word has been transferred to the first. I believe that the true word is which is used in the ancient forms of conjuration (see the texts of Unas, 304, 311, 542, 545, 554, etc.). It is always used in expressions of lying down or falling down with a lie also found in parallelism with

without a determinative is susceptible of different meanings, and the very recent texts have it written with the determinative of motion  $\triangle$  or  $\triangle$ , as significant of retreat. But the oldest determinative in this place is  $\bigcirc$ , and this inclines me to identify the word with  $\bigcirc$ , and translate it 'stabber.' But this is mere conjecture. See note 5 on Chapter 40.

- 2. Akar. The older MSS. differ hopelessly from each other as to the name of the god. , or as the name is also written as to the name of the god. , or as the name is also written at the present of the horizon, and 'the two gates of Akar' are mentioned in the Pyramid text of Pepi I (line 72) as equivalent in sense to 'the two gates of Seb.' But with Akar the notion of obscurity is connected, whereas the notion of brightness is essentially connected with that of . Champollion translated this by 'Solar Mount,' and it would perhaps have been better to adhere to this term; for the word does not mean the horizon at all, but only the two places in it where the sun rises and where he sets. See picture of the god in Plate XIV.
- 3. The proof. Lit. the taste, tepit, with the tongue as a determinative, in the sense of a probe. The hand of an Egyptian hero is said to taste his enemy. In the Bremner Papyrus the god tastes Apep four times. The same conception is found in the Homeric poems,

άλλ' ἄγε, θᾶσσον γευσόμεθ' άλλήλων χαλκήρεσιν έγχείησιν.\*

though in Greek the taste comes generally to the patient rather than to the agent.

4. This passage, which would be most interesting if we could only get it accurately, is wretchedly corrupt. It is impossible from the variants to obtain a text grammatically intelligible. The Scorpion goddess is Isis.

#### CHAPTER XL.

### Chapter whereby the Eater of the Ass is kept back.

Back, serpent Haiu (1), whom Osiris execrateth. May Thoth cut off thy head, and may there accrue to me whatsoever property proceedeth from thee [according to] what was decreed against thee by the Company of the gods for the accomplishment of thy slaughter.

Back, thou whom Osiris execrateth, from the Neshemet galley, which saileth towards the south with favourable breeze,

Pure are ye, all ye gods who overthrow the enemy of Osiris.

The gods upon the larboard utter loud acclamation.

Back, thou Eater of the Ass, whom the god Chas (2), who is in the Tuat, execrateth.

Know me! (Repeated four times).

"Who art thou?"

I am . . . . . \*

Down upon thy face (3)! thou who art eating at my sanctuary.

I am the Season, which cometh at its own will.

"Come not against me; thou who comest without being called, and who art unknown."

I am the master of thine utterance, and the check upon thy pride (4).

O Ha-as, whose horns (5) Horus doth cut: by my children, the cycle of gods in Pu and Tepit, thou art severed from thy fold and thy fold is severed from thee.

And he who cutteth thee off cometh forth as the Eye of Horus; thou art kept back and assailed, and stopped (6) by the breath of my speech.

O thou god who devourest all wrong, and carriest off with violence (7); there is no wrong in me, my tablets (8) are free from wrong. Let me not suffer violence before the Divine Circle; let not disaster be hurled upon me.

<sup>\*</sup> There is a lacuna here in the only MS. containing the text. The dialogue continues through the next line of the original.

I am he who giveth or taketh according to thy behest. Let not N be seized, let him not be devoured (9).

He is Possessor of Life, and Sovereign Lord (10) on the Horizon.

#### NOTES.

The translation of this chapter is based upon the important papyrus T 5 of Leyden, known as Lb. This is the only MS. which contains the whole chapter. All other copies begin after the sixth line. The usual chapter begins in Lb with a the ordinary way of indicating a various reading. But the difference of reading applies rather to a mere paragraph than to the whole chapter. In this case we should expect or something equivalent.

The Eater of the Ass is a Serpent, but who is the Ass?

Here, as in each case of mythological name, the animal is not meant, but something which is connoted by it. The name of the ass is given to it in consequence of one of its characteristics. It is But this is one of the seventy-five names of the Sun-god in the Solar Litany.\* And he derives this appellation from his fructifying power.

But if the Ass is the Sun, who is the *Eater* of the Ass? This must be Darkness or Eclipse of some kind.

- - 2. The god Chas, A.
- 3. The usual chapter begins here. The text of *Lb* has generally been followed, but in some places later authorities have been preferred.
- 4. Pride or boastings, o ānta, "glory," cf. glorior.

  The speaker addresses his adversary as being a miles gloriosus.
- 5. Horns or barbed hooks, \(\sigma\_{\text{\congrue}}\), \(\sigma\_{\text{\congrue}}\) or \(\sigma\_{\text{\congrue}}\). The horns here spoken of, as possessed by a viper, are those of the deadly Cerastes, which are spines projecting from the arched eyebrows of the creature. See picture in Long's Egyptian Antiquities of British Museum, II, p. 316, copied from the great French work.

<sup>\*</sup> Naville, La Litanie du Soleil, p. 49 and 55, with the plates corresponding.

But the Sun-god is also called in his Litany\*

And a picture of the god† under the name

And a picture of the god† under the name

and a pair of hooked weapons, suggested apparently by the mandibles of a beetle.

- 7. There is a picture in Denkm., III, 279, of the god who carrieth off with violence  $T\bar{a}m$  Sceptre. But it is a mummied form holding the  $T\bar{a}m$  sceptre.
- 8. Tablets, These are the tablets on which Thoth has written down the evidence taken at the Weighing of the Words, the examination at the Psychostasia. They are mentioned again at the end of Chapter 41.
  - 9. Here I follow the general authority of the later texts.
- no Sovereign Lord \( \)

#### CHAPTER XLI.

Chapter whereby one avoideth the Slaughter which is carried out in the Netherworld.

O Tmu, let me be glorified in presence of the god in Lion form, the great god; that he may open to me the gate of Seb.

<sup>\*</sup> In the 64th invocation.

<sup>†</sup> Lefébure Tombeau de Seti I, pl. XVII.

[1893.

I prostrate myself to earth to the great god who is in the Netherworld. Let me be introduced into the presence of the company of gods who preside over those who are in Amenta.

MAR. 7]

O thou who art at the gate of Tebat; god with the Red Crown (1), who art in Amenta; let me feed, let me live by the breath of air and accompany the great Cleaver (2), and the Bark of Chepera.

Let me speak to the divine Boatman at the gloaming, let me enter in and let me go out; that I may see who is there; that I may raise him up and speak my words to him.

O Breathless one (3): Let me live and be saved after death.

O thou Bearer of peace offerings, who openest thy mouth for the presentation of the tablets (4), for the acceptation (5) of the offerings and for the establishment of Maāt upon her throne; let the tablets be brought forward, and let the goddess be firmly established.

I am Osiris, the great god, the eternal king, who numbereth his seasons and who lifted up his right arm, who judgeth the great ones and giveth mission to the gods of the great Circle (6) which is in the Netherworld.

#### NOTES.

The most noteworthy difference between the older recension of this chapter and that of the Saitic and later periods is that in the latter the god addressed at the opening is Osiris Unneferu, who is identified with Tmu. In the older recensions the identification may be seen in another way. Tmu is the god invoked, and in answer he says that he is Osiris, the great god.

- 1. God with the Red Crown is is is, one of the titles of Osiris with the crown. See picture in Lefébure, Tombeau de Seti I, part IV, pl. 34. This title, derived from the crown is Net-tà or Nait-tà. It was borne by the high priest at Coptos (Brugsch, Dict. Geogr., pp. 1374, 1377), and the King of Egypt derived his title from the Crown of the North which he wore as representing Osiris, or rather the heir of Osiris, Horus.
- 2. The great Cleaver, , the name of the god who cleaves his path through the sky.

- 3. Breathless one, A Osiris.
- 4. Thoth is the person here addressed, and the speaker is Osiris. The tablets are those containing the evidence at the trial at the Balance.
- 5. Acceptation peka, besides the physical sense of comprehendere, 'to lay hold of' with the hands, has that of 'taking in, embracing with the mind,' and perhaps 'setting forth in words.'
- 6. On the Sarcophagus of Seti (Bonomi, pl. 3. D), and the other copies of the same text, there is a picture of these Solution. Such is the title written over them. But the text speaks of them as



#### THE TOWER OF BABEL.

#### By the Rev. A. Löwy.

In a pamphlet under the title of Half a Century of Progress in the Knowledge and Practice of Judaism, I incidentally alluded to specimens of Egyptian bricks which Lepsius deposited in the Royal Museum of Berlin. I stated that a specimen of a similar description of brick, bound together with straw fibres, has recently been brought by Mr. Edward Livingstone of Manchester from the so-called "Tower of Babel." The dimensions of that brick are 13 by 13 inches, with a thickness of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches; these dimensions very nearly agree with the figures given by several writers on Chaldæan antiquities. The specimen here mentioned was removed by him from Birs Nimrud, the Borsippa of the Greek and Jewish writers.

Considering the countless millions of such sun-baked bricks which were used in Babylonian and Assyrian buildings, and that the system of binding the sun-dried material by means of vegetable fibres was known in Mesopotamia, we notice a fact that goes beyond a mere analogy in the elements of Babylonian and Egyptian architecture. A suggestion forcibly presents itself that as in Egypt so in Babylonia the bricks were made by prisoners of war whom the captor was always prone to transport from their native lands. The exiles, whose fate was much alike everywhere, were on the rivers of Babel employed in the making of bricks and in the erection of memorial palaces and temples, as well as in the canalisation of their enemies' territory. An unread page of history is laid before us by Oppert, in La condition des esclaves à Babylone, where he points out that the names of a considerable number of slaves denote their Canaanite origin.

An extremely interesting account of the great buildings erected in Babylon and Borsippa was put on record by Nebuchadnezzar in the cylinders which he deposited in Birs Nimrud (Borsippa) and which have been studied and translated by eminent decipherers of Cuneiform inscriptions. Mr. Budge in his "Babylonian Life and

History," among other scholars, has furnished translations of Nebu chadnezzar's records. That king says with regard to Borsippa: "I rebuilt the quay and the moat (lined and built) with bitumen and brick made to surround the citadel for protection. For the God Turkit, the breaker of the weapons of my enemies, I rebuilt the temple of Borsippa."\*

The Talmudists and the ancient Midrashic expositors of Genesis looked upon Borsippa as the site of the "Tower of Babel." Some of their notices of that Tower have been frequently cited as illustrative of the Babylonian records. But the following noteworthy legend has, so far as I know, escaped the attention of writers on this subject. In *Treatise Sanhedrin*, fol. 109a, occurs this tradition, and is there cited in the name of R. Johanan: "MIGDAL, SHALISH NISRAF, SHALISH NIBLA, SHALISH KAYEM." "Of the Tower (of Babel), one-third was burnt, one-third was buried underground" (literally, 'was swallowed up'), "and one-third remains standing."

Sir Henry Layard, following the measurements made by Rich, states that Birs Nimrud rises 198 feet, and has on its summit a mass of brickwork 37 feet high by 28 broad. He points out that "the vitreous surface, fused into rock-like masses, shows that their fall may have been caused by lightning." This conjecture gains additional force from the foregoing statement preserved in the Babylonian Talmud.

\* Pages 18 and 19.



[The following important communication which I have received from Brugsch Pasha has reference to one of the most brilliant and interesting discoveries of the day.

The ancient Egyptians not only personified natural phenomena, but when these were observed to follow a fixed law (Maāt), deified them. The Zodiacal Light is one of these phenomena, and is now identified with a god known and worshipped in the earliest days of Egyptian civilization.—P. LE P. R.]

# ↑ OU LA LUMIÈRE ZODIACALE.

PAR H. BRUGSCH.

Mon illustre compatriote, Monsieur HERMANN GRUSON, de Magdebourg, connu du monde entier par la découverte de la fonte durcie et son application à la fabrication de fortifications gigantesques, vient de publier en langue allemande un remarquable livre intitulé: Im Reiche des Lichtes.\* Plus et mieux qu'un autre initié dans les mystères de la lumière et de la chaleur, l'auteur de ce travail a consacré ses loisirs à des recherches extrêmement importantes qui, dans le domaine de la physique astronomiques, se rattachent aux apparitions lumineuses du ciel et, en premier lieu, au soleil qui répand ses rayons sur le monde terrestre. L'examen approfondi auquel il a soumis les lois de la lumière, relativement à toute une série de phénomènes célestes, lui a ouvert des vues parfaitement nouvelles au sujet de l'origine de la lumière et de la chaleur. Je n'ai pas la prétention de me placer en juge sur la haute valeur des conclusions qui ressortent des études sagaces de Mr. Gruson, mais je ne peux pas me taîre en voyant qu'un des chapîtres les plus intéressants de son livre s'occupe d'une apparition à laquelle la science a donné le nom de Lumière zodiacale. Il est vrai que la connaissance de la lumière en question ne date que d'une époque rélativement très-récente. Elle a été observée pour la première fois

<sup>\*</sup> Sous le titre complet: Im Reiche des Lichtes.—Sonnen, Zodiakallichte, Kometen.—Dämmerungslicht-Pyramiden nach den ältesten ägyptischen Quellen. Von Hermann Gruson. Mit 28 Figuren u. 9 Tafeln. Braunsthweig, George Westermann. London, Asher and Co., 1893.

vers l'an 1660. Les savants ont pu constater, dès le temps de sa découverte, que la lumière zodiacale, surtout dans les régions du midi de notre globe, se manifeste régulièrement, à peu de jours près, chaque matin et vers l'orient avant le lever du soleil et chaque soir, vers l'occident, après le coucher du soleil. Ils ont pu vérifier également que la lumière zodiacale présente la figure d'une pyramide, un peu courbée à sa tête, dont la base repose sur la terre et dont la pointe se dirige vers le zénith du ciel. Ils ont finalement observé que la visibilité de l'apparition lumineuse disparaît lentement après une durée de trois quarts d'heure à peu près. Je l'ai observée moimême pendant ce long séjour que j'ai fait en Egypte (dès l'an 1853), à des centaines de fois, et à chaque occasion où la lumière magique se présentait à ma vue, j'ai senti un vrai plaisir en admirant la splendeur de la pyramide en l'air. Malheureusement il y a peu de voyageurs, et parmi eux des savants de distinction, qui pendant leur séjour en Egypte ont dû jouir de ce plaisir, et cela par la raison la plus simple, c'est qu'ils n'en avaient aucune connaissance.

L'hiver de l'année passée j'ai eu la satisfaction de rencontrer aux heureux bords du Nil Mr. H. Gruson, et de renouveler une amitié de bien ancienne date. Nous nous revîmes après un laps de temps de 43 années! Je fus informé par lui-même qu'il avait entrepris son voyage dans le seul but d'étudier sur les lieux la lueur resplendissante de la lumière zodiacale. Grand étonnement de mon côté là-dessus.

Sur la question de mon illustre ami, si la lumière pyramidale a été connue aux anciens Egyptiens, ma réponse n'affirma rien, et je ne supprimai nullement mes doutes sur le peu d'espoir de rencontrer des traces monumentales de sa connaissance soit aux temps pharaoniques soit à l'époque de l'empire grèco-romain en Égypte. Il faut le dire, Mr. H. Gruson n'était pas du tout de mon avis. Sans mon entremise il avait fait la connaissance d'un dieu égyptien montrant la figure d'un homme en costume royal, la tête surmontée d'une espèce de triangle \( \int \). Selon sa conviction cette personne divine aurait dû représenter la lumière zodiacale. En même temps il m'exprima la prière de poursuivre dans mes recherches scientifiques les traces de ce dieu luminaire pour me convaincre moi-même de l'exactitude de sa trouvaille.

Je me chargeai de la tâche, presque en regrettant d'avance le temps et la peine que j'aurais à perdre pendant la longue chasse au dieu et à son fameux triangle. Aujourd'hui je sais bien que j'ai eu tort de jouer l'incrédule. Mais les recherches, les plus minutieuses qu'on puisse s'imaginer, que j'ai entamées et continuées pendant toute une année, ont fini par me démontrer toute la justesse de l'observation de Mr. H. Gruson. Par suite de mes études il est assuré que le dieu en question représentait, déjà à l'époque de la construction des pyramides, la lumière zodiacale aux points du lever et du coucher du soleil. C'est donc de plein droit à Mr. H. Gruson que notre science égyptologique doit une des plus rares et des plus curieuses révélations.

Pour le moment je suis occupé de rédiger un mémoire spécial qui réunira les nombreuses preuves et tous les documents tirés des monuments et des textes d'origine égyptienne et présentant, dans leur ensemble, les riches matériaux pour trancher impartialement la question. Je me permets aujourd'hui d'extraire de mon travail les exemples qui me paraissent mériter la première place dans la discussion, et dont quelques-uns se trouvent déjà cités dans la publication de Mr. H. GRUSON.

- 1. Remarquons d'abord que le nom du dieu , autrement écrit , se prononce Sopd on Sopdou ( , v. Ounas, l. 281). C'est, pour ainsi dire, la forme masculine du nom féminin donné comme on sait à la déesse Isis-Sothis, représentant la constellation du Sirius.
- 2. L'origine des deux désignations, dont la première se rapporte à une des nombreuses formes du dieu Horus, l'autre à la déesse Isis, provient d'un substantif bien connu prov
- 3. Le nom composé du dieu na "Horus le triangule," ou "Horus le triangulaire" (v. Ounas, l. 465), confondu

parfois avec hand "Horus le Sothiaque" (Teti, l. 216) servait à désigner une apparition lumineuse du ciel. On n'a qu'à comparer le passage Ounas, 464-467, pour se convaincre qu'il y est cité après Ra (le soleil) et Thot (la lune) et avant les deux constellations am-dait et Nekhekh.

- 4. D'accord avec cette supposition le signe du triangle ∧ auquel nous donnerons désormais la valeur de lumière zodiacale. remplace occasionellement les mots exprimant l'idée de lumière de la crépuscule comme dans l'exemple suivant tiré d'un texte funéraire de l'époque de Thotmes Ier. Après avoir parlé d'offrandes présentées au moment de la soirée" (traduction de Mr. PIEHL) ou "à l'heure du soir" (d'àpres Mr. Maspéro), l'auteur du texte continue: (Mr. Piehl), ou "qu'on lui apporte la coupe au lever du soleil ?" (Mr. Maspéro, v. le Recueil de Paris, 1883, pages 121 at 126). Les deux savants cités, comme on se convainc, ont remplacé le sens qui s'attache au mot A c'est-à-dire la lumière zodiacale, par le mot "soleil." Its voyaient bien qu'il ne s'agissait dans cet exemple que du temps matinal tout au commencement du jour. D'après mes remarques la véritable traduction aurait été: "au lever de la lumière zodiacale."
- 5. Comme la dite lumière sous la figure d'une pyramide avance le lever quotidien du soleil, les anciens Egyptiens la regardaient comme une espèce de messager ou héraut du soleil naissant au premier jour de la création du monde. Cette idée toute naturelle se trouve exprimée par exemple dans un hymne adressé au dieu créateur Ptah (de Memphis) et conservé sur le Papyrus hiératique No. VII du Musée égyptien de Berlin (v. les Denkmaeler, VI, pl. 118, à la ligne 118). Le texte est d'une clarté qui ne laisse rien à désirer. Dans des termes poétiques, qui du reste se répètent ailleurs, il y est nettement dit que le dieu a créé ce monde pour lui servir de corps. "Tu n'as pas eu le père qui l'aurait engendré dans ton essence, tu n'as pas eu la mère, qui t'aurait enfanté, tu t'as formé toi-même (an atk outt-tou m khoprek an moutk mastou khnoumek t'esek), telle est la phrase qui termine la description de la création. Ce qui suit présente un intèrêt tout particulier par la mention du triangle ou de

la lumière zodiacale. Le texte continue ainsi: (ou) (ou) confirmed présenta une forme pour toi sur la terre," en d'autres mots le soleil naissant, caché encore dans les ténèbres, annonça son arrivée, au premier jour de la création, par la lueur pyramidale de lumière zodiacale—telle qu'on la voit presque tous les jours en Egypte—et sa forme pyramidale fut la cause pour les habitants de la terre de représenter le dieu créateur sous la forme d'une pyramide, devenue dès lors le plus haut symbole de la lumière naissante. J'ai prouvé, dans mon mémoire à publier, l'exactitude de mon explication du passage précité par des observations très-curieuses faites dans des ouvrages classiques de l'antiquité au sujet des obélisques et pyramides qui s'y trouvent mises en rapport avec le rayon solaire.

de Berlin, que le lever du ou de la lumière zodiacale donne lieu à la forme, d'une pyramide pour représenter mystérieusement la figure du dieu créateur. On comprendra maintenant les titres du dieu tels que le suivant: "" image des lumières zodiacales, qui se forme luimême" (v. le Papyr. Magique IV, 2). Les traductions qu'on a proposée de ce titre: "Dominateur accompli qui s'est enfanté luimême," ou "le Khem pourvu de s'enfanter lui-même," demanderaient certainement une rectification fondamentale. Les mêmes mots se recontrent du reste encore dans les textes de la basse époque. C'est ainsi que le dieu solaire d'Edfou est invoqué sous sa forme locale, vénérée dans le nome d'Arabia ou de la terre Goshen, par les paroles:

7. L'idée de rayonner est inséparable du mot dans son sens de lumière zodiacale. Parmi les nombreuses preuves que j'ai à ma disposition, je ne cite que l'exemple suivant tiré d'une stèle du Musée de Turin (v. *Le Recueil de Paris*, vol. VIII, p. 119, ad VII, publ. par Mr. MASPERO). Le texte datant de la 11ême ou 12ême dynastie, parle entre autre d'une offrande funéraire composée de toutes espèces

de bonnes choses et de : "" "ce que le ciel donne, ce que la terre produit, ce que le Nil apporte, les vents pour la vie, la splendeur de la figure de la lumière zodiacale." Dans d'autres exemples du même genre (v. l.l. ad X), on lit vers la fin de la phrase: " "les vents doux pour la vie et la splendeur," sans l'addition du groupe .

8. Dans la "Litanie du soleil" publié par le professeur NAVILLE, le mot / joue de même son rôle dans le sens indiqué. Je fixe l'attention de mes lecteurs sur le passage suivant : mà khouti SPD ouben pir em oubnet (v. pl. IX, 11 et pl. XLII, 36, suiv.), traduit par mon savant collègue: "comme Chuti (le dieu des dieux horizons) le triangle brillant qui apparaît dans le lieu brillant." La traduction littérale est aussi exacte que possible, mais le véritable sens s'y cache. Toute difficulté disparait dès qu'on se conforme aux idées énoncées plus haut. On n'a qu'à lire, "comme la lueur au lever de la lumière zodiacale qui apparaît à l'endroit du lever," et le sens de la phrase devient parfaitement compréhensible et clair. Le lever matinal du triangle est du côte de l'orient, là où le soleil se lève journellement en sortant de l'océan. On ne sera pas surpris de voir que les textes égyptiens eux-mêmes font surgir le triangle, la lumière zodiacale, de l'océan comme héraut du soleil naissant. C'est Mr. NAVILLE encore qui m'a fourni un passage constatant ce fait important (v. "Litanie du Soleil," à la page 78, la 9ene note). Nous y lisons: Spd piret m Nou, "la lumière zodiacale qui se lève de l'ocean."

Avec ces remarques je me permets de terminer ma courte note destinée à fixer préalablement l'attention du lecteur sur le triangle dans son rôle particulier comme représentant figuratif de la lumière zodiacale. Je suis heureux d'avoir pu constater, par l'étude soigneuse des textes égyptiens mis à ma disposition, la pleine justesse de l'observation faite par Mr. H. GRUSON. Les exemples que j'ai examinés sans forcer le sens des mots, forment les bases de mes recherches de ce sujet. La science, je n'en doute pas, en tirera grandement profit; elle peut se féliciter que la sagacité d'un laïque en égyptologie l'a enrichie d'une découverte à mon avis des plus brillants.

#### THE CONSTELLATION ARIES.

#### BY E. M. PLUNKET.

In the January number of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for last year, under the title "The Accadian Calendar," two propositions were advanced:—

- I. The Accadian year was counted as a sidereal year.
- II. The Accadian calendar was first thought out and originated at a date not later than 6000 B.C.

The fact that the sun's entry into the constellation Aries appears to have marked through many millenniums the beginning of the Accadian year, was cited in support of the first proposition, and the fact that the sun's entry into Aries coincided in 6000 (or perhaps 6500) B.C. with the Winter Solstice, was relied on to support the probability of the second proposition, namely, that at the above date the calendar, which so honoured the inconspicuous constellation Aries, was first drawn up.\*

If we now find this inconspicuous part of the heavens equally honoured by several nations in very ancient times, we shall be led to think either that these nations, independently of each other, happened to observe and mark out the sun's annual course through the heavens at exactly the same date, and therefore chose the same point as marking the Winter Solstice; or we must suppose that they derived their calendar and knowledge of the Zodiac from observations originally made by some *one* civilized race.

Bailly in his work on the history of ancient astronomy, speaking of the Brahmins of India, the initial point of whose Zodiac is at the first star in the constellation Aries, observes: "Mais pourquoi ontils choisi cette constellation pour la première? Il est évident que

<sup>\*</sup> A corroboration of this view, i.e., that the Accadian year originally began at the winter Solstice, is to be found in the name of the thirteenth (intercalary) month, "Dir Se," the dark (month) of sowing. This name suits a month immediately preceding the winter Solstice—it does not suit a month immediately preceding the spring Equinox.

c'est une affaire de préjugé et de superstition; le choix du premier point dans un cercle est arbitraire, ils auront été décidé par quelque ancienne tradition," etc.

Dupuis, writing at the same date as Bailly, about a hundred years ago, and in conflict with him on many points relating to the Zodiac, was also struck by the choice of this same inconspicuous point in the great circle of the ecliptic, not only by the Brahmins of India, but also by other ancient nations. This fact, amongst others, he relied on to support his view of the unity of the astronomical and religious myths of all nations—he looked upon southern Egypt as the locality from whence these myths had chiefly been derived, and he suggested a date of more than 11000 B.C. for the mapping out of the Zodiac, at a time when the *Autumn Equinox* would have coincided with the sun's entry into Aries.

The argument drawn from the choice by several nations of the first division of Aries as initial point of the Zodiac and year, is of equal cogency in support of a calendar such as Dupuis suggests drawn up more than 11000 B.C. for a year beginning at the *Autumn Equinox*; or for one, as suggested in this paper, drawn up about 6500 B.C., and dealing with a year beginning at the *Winter Solstice*. Oriental scholars and historians, from other than astronomical data, may probably be able, by a study of the records of many nations now within their reach, to decide whether either of these dates, and if so which of them, meets with corroboration from the monuments.

Dupuis at the end of his work, Memoires Explicatif du Zodiaque, gives in a diagram several Zodiacs in concentric circles; some divided into twelve, some into twenty-seven or twenty-eight parts. He represents the colures by a cross which quarters these concentric Zodiacs, and he observes as follows: "On remarque d'abord que ces divers systèmes lunaires tirés de l'astronomie de différens peuples, s'accordent tous à placer dans les cases correspondantes à peu près les mêmes étoiles. Il suffit pour s'en assurer de comparer les étoiles désignées dans la même case de la division de chaque peuple. On remarque aussi qu'ils ont pris tous excepté les Chinois les mêmes étoiles pour point initial de la division, savoir celles de la tête du Bélier. Les Chinois au contraire ont fixé le point initial dans la partie du ciel diamétralement opposée, vers les pieds de la Vierge et près l'Epi."

Dupuis in another passage points out that the Chinese months took their names from the constellations in *opposition*, and not from

those in *conjunction* with the sun. Their month called after the group of stars containing Spica (or l'Epi), the first Chinese constellation in *opposition*, corresponded thus with the Accadian month "Bar Ziggar," called after the constellation Aries in *conjunction*. We have then in the Chinese and Accadian Zodiacs really, though not nominally, the same initial point. It is to this fact and not to the many other resemblances between the calendars of these two nations, that in this paper we wish to call attention.

Of the Brahmins of India we have already spoken; their astronomy, like that of the Chinese, claims a high antiquity, and their observations and calculations date back to the fourth millennium B.C. The names of the Indian constellations are preserved to us in the Sanscrit language; this in itself is a guarantee of antiquity, and these names are so to speak identical with those that we use at the present day when we speak of the figures of the Zodiac.

We have then the Accadians, the Chinese, and the Aryans of India all recognising the same point in the great circle of the heavens as the starting point of the Zodiac.

It is difficult, with Bailly, to attribute this "to some matter of prejudice or superstition;" rather with Dupuis we are inclined to attribute it to a scientific observation, on the part of the early calendar makers, of the coincidence of that point with one of the four great natural divisions of the year.

Turning from the Accadians, the Chinese, and Indians to the Egyptians, it will be interesting to see if there are any indications in their astronomy or mythology, of honour paid to the constellation Aries in connection with the progress of the sun and moon through the figures of the Zodiac.

It is true that the acquaintance of the ancient Egyptians with these figures is a matter still in dispute, and their method of count ing the year also presents great difficulties to scholars. They were, however, a people much given to the observation and worship of the heavenly bodies, and their astronomy and mythology were very closely woven with each other.

In the time of the Middle Empire it seems the months were not counted as lunar months, but as months of thirty days each. The year was not counted as a sidereal year, but as one of three hundred and sixty days—twelve months of thirty days—and five days added at the end of each year to bring up the number to three hundred and sixty-five days. No attention was paid to the odd hours and

minutes over and above the three hundred and sixty-five days, which are occupied by the Sun in completing his annual course.

Mr. Griffiths has remarked in the number of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* for March, 1892, that the hieroglyph for month points to an originally lunar month; the star under the first crescent would seem to point also to a month counted sidereally, *i.e.*, dependent upon the conjunction of the sun and moon in some particular star group of the ecliptic.

In the long and probably disastrous interval between the Ancient and Middle Empire many changes in ritual and civil observances were doubtless made, and the knowledge of how to count the years and months by the stars, if it was originally possessed by the priests and kings of the Ancient Empire, may have been lost, or abandoned voluntarily by those who had the charge of such matters.

Now in the Theban triad of Amen, Maut, and Chons—Chons, the Moon-god, is always represented as ram-headed, and his temple, at right angles, and in close proximity to, the great temple of Amen-Ra, is approached through an avenue of gigantic ram-headed sphynxes. Chons as Moon-god (or may we not say Month-god?)—if the first month of the year was that in which the sun and moon were in conjunction in Aries—might with justice be represented as ram-headed.

But Amen, the great god of the Theban triad, is also sometimes represented as ram-headed—his boat and his sceptre are always adorned with a ram's head, and the great temple to him in conjunction with the sun, *i.e.*, to Amen-Ra, is also approached through an avenue of ram-headed sphynxes.

We know that Horus, Isis, and Osiris—the Memphian triad—symbolised the *diurnal* motion of the sun and other heavenly bodies. May not the great Theban triad Amen, Maut, and Chons have originally symbolised the *annual* course of the sun and moon through the constellations the Zodiac, of which, as we have argued, the constellation Aries was the first division?

A prayer to Amen is translated by G. Maspero, in the April number for 1891 of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*; from this translation it would appear that Amen is implored to bring the calendar in to touch with the real seasons of the year. If Amen represented the yearly course of the sun, such a prayer might suitably have been addressed to him.

The great temple to Amen-Ra at Thebes is oriented to the

setting sun at the summer solstice. This is a very marked point in the sun's annual course. On the other hand, the temple at Aboo Simbel is oriented to the rising sun—not at the time of either solstice or equinox;\* on the 26th of February the sun shines into the Holy of Holies of that rock-hewn temple, and now, 1893 A.D., the sun is in conjunction with the constellation Aquarius on the 26th of February. But if we calculate back to the date when Rameses II dedicated this temple to Amen-Ra, we shall find that the sun when first its rays penetrated into the shrine of the temple at Aboo Simbel was in conjunction with the constellation Aries—a group of stars not marking any of the four great divisions of the year; but, as we have supposed, still held traditionally in honour as the initial point of the Zodiac, and selected for that honour at a date when the winter solstice coincided with the sun's entry into that constellation.

The Hebrews had a calendar before the exile counted evidently by lunar months; these months are described, like those in the Accadian calendar, sometimes by name, and more often as "the first month," "the second month," and so on. After the exile the writers in the Bible make use of Babylonian names for the months; no comment is added which should lead us to think that the Babylonian and Hebrew months differed from each other in any way. It has been very generally taken for granted that when Moses commanded the Hebrews to observe the month Abib, *i.e.*, "the month

<sup>\*</sup> Extract from the Pall Mall Gazette, April 20, 1892 :- "I was fortunate in seeing another wonderful thing during my visit to Aboo Simbel. The great temple is dedicated to Amen-Ra, the sun god, and on two days in the year the sun is said to rise at such a point that it sends a beam of light through both halls till it falls on the shrine itself in the very 'Holy of Holies.' Many theories are based on the orientation of the temples, and Captain Johnston wished to find on which day in the spring of the year the phenomenon took place; so he took his instruments, and we all went up to the temple before dawn. It was the 26th February. The great hall with its eight Osiride pillars was wrapped in semidarkness; still darker were the inner hall and the shrine. Behind the altar sat the four gods Amen, Horus, Ptah, and Rameses himself, now deified. All the east was a deep rosy flush; then that paled, and a hard white light filled the sky. Clearer and whiter it grew, till with a sudden joyous rush the sun swung up over the low ridge of hill, and in an instant, like an arrow from the bow of Pheebus Apollo, one level shaft of light pierced the great hall and fell in living glory straight upon the shrine itself. . . . . . . . .

of the ears of corn," he meant thereby the month in which the ears of corn ripened. But a month dependent on the uncertain ripening of corn could not have corresponded with any exactness to the month Nisan—calculated as it was by a rigid astronomical rule.

If however the month Abib with the Hebrews corresponded to Bar Ziggar or Nisan, the first month of the Accadian year—or as we have suggested in this paper, to the first month of an almost universally accepted year: there would be a simple astronomical reason for calling the month Abib—the month of the ears of corn—Abib would, in fact, like the Chinese and Indian first month, have been called after the constellation containing "the ears of corn" (marked by the bright star Spica) in the Virgin's hand, which rises in *opposition* as the sun sets in *conjunction* with the constellation Aries, and would have been identical with Nisan, *i.e.*, the month in which the sun is in conjunction with Aries.

We find then indications that the Accadians, the Chinese, the Aryans of India, the Egyptians, and the Hebrews, reckoned their year as beginning when the sun and moon entered the Constellation Aries. It is difficult to think that this method of reckoning the year was arrived at by each of these nations independently: that they should have also recognised in the star groups of the ecliptic the same fanciful figures, seems to make the theory of independent observation incredible. Whether one nation borrowed these ideas from another, or whether some "earlier race of men" bequeathed this knowledge to their many descendants, is still an open question. Scholars have not unanimously awarded the palm of seniority in civilization to any one nation, and we are not at variance with proved facts, if we elect to adopt the theory of a common stock from which the divergent races sprang. If then it should appear that these races possessed and incorporated into their earliest mythologies, a knowledge of the Zodiac, and of the head of Aries as its initial point: their separation from the parent stock must have been subsequent to the formation of the scheme that dealt with a calendar based on the figures of the Zodiac, and the date of 6000 B.C. becomes a foothold for the chronology of ancient history. We should also be led to think of the common ancestors of the civilized races: not as ignorant barbarians, but rather as men graced with high intellectual giftsmen whose teachings have been handed down through all the ages to this present day, and of whose imaginings the Zodiac remains the most ancient monument of the work of intelligent man.

[1893.

### THE TEN PATRIARCHS OF BEROSUS.

MAR. 71

### By PROF. DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.

It is well known, not only that Berosus gives the names of ten patriarchs as living before the great flood, but that also the number of the antediluvian patriarchs in Gen. v. is ten. But a comparison of both lists did not give a sufficient result till now, concerning the original identity of the two lists. I will give first the text of both:—

ı.	"Αλωρος, Alorus	אָדָם	(Adam).
2.	'Αλάπαρος, Alaparus	שׁת	(Sheth)
3.	'Αμήλων, 'Αμίλλαρος, Almel	on אַנוֹשׁ	(Enosh).
4.	'Αμμένων, Ammenon	קיבָן	(Ķēnân).
5-	Μεγάλαρος, Amegalarus	מַהַלַלְאֵל	(Mahalal-el).
6.	Δάωνος, Δαώς, Davonus	בֶרֶד י	(Yered).
7.	Εὐεδώραχος, Edoranchus	ָּחַבּרֹ <b>ה</b>	(Ḥanôk).
8.	'Aμέμψινος, Amemphsinus	<b>בְּתוּשֶׁלַח</b>	(Metû-shelah).
9.	°Ωπάρτης, Opartes	לֶמֶּר	(Lemek).
10.	Ξίσουθρος, Xisuthros	נת	(Nôaḫ).

The corrupted forms of the Berosian list cannot hinder us from seeing in it a mere copy or Greek transcription of a Babylonian original. Long known is the identification of Opartes ( $\Pi$  instead of T1 of the MSS.) with *Ubara-tutu*, the father of Xisuthros, or of the Babylonian Noah. The origin of Xisuthros is probably *Khis-zud*,  $T \sim T \sim T$  (Zimmern, *Babyl. Busspsalmen*, p. 26, note 1), in Semitic *Pin-napišti*, "offspring of life," or better, as I would propose, *Nûh-napišti*, "rest of the soul."\* Amelon is *amîlu*, "man," and so

<sup>\*</sup> Compare [1] [ Sag-ud-du, Brünn, No. 7883, pussuh libbi, "rest of the heart," of which nuh libbi would be a mere synonym. In Sumerian the oldest form of ud is ģud (compare ], ģud = namāru "to be bright," and [1], ud = namāru, neo-Sumerian ģis).

closely agrees with wilst Amemphsinus is very probably a corruption of AMEA  $\forall$ INOC ( $\land$  for  $\land$ ) = Amel-sin (Delitzsch, Paradies, p. 149). But if the name of the third patriarch is "man" (amêlu, in Hebrew "in the names of the two first kings must be names of gods, and of course of the two creator gods Ea and his son Merodach. Now Alorus is none other than Aruru, the wife of Ea (compare her name belit ilâni, and the name of her creature Ea-bânî, i.e., "Ea is creating"); and for Alaparus I should like to read Adaparus ( $\Delta$  for  $\Lambda$ ) = Adapa, another name of Merodach (e.g., in the mythological text of the Berlin Tell Amarna collection). Amegalarus I correct to Amel-Alaros, amil-Aruru  $\Lambda$  for  $\Gamma$ ). The second element of Evedorachos, Edoranchus, may perhaps be Aku (= Sin, as in Ariokh, Gen. xiv = Iri-Aku), and so also of Han-ôk. In Davonus, Daos, Prof. Delitzsch sees the Sumerian dumu, duvu, "son," "child," and compares it with ירך "descendant" (Paradies, p. 149). Ammenon is, I think, the Babylonian ummânu, "workman," "artifex;" which is the more probable, as the Hebrew קרנן (compare Arabic kain, "faber, artifex") is a mere translation of it. This leads us to our present investigation about the origin of the Hebrew list in Genesis, chapter v.

An unprejudiced comparison of the so called Cainitic list of patriarchs in Gen. iv, shows us that originally both lists were the ame.

Gen. v (so called Priest-codex):— Gen. iv (so-called Jehovist):—

ו. אדן Adôn (see below) 2. ¬₩ Sheth (>) \ Shiti=Merodach) — 3. Will Enosh "man" האדם ha-Adam, "The man." 4. קינן Kênân (out of Kainân) קינן Kain.

5. Session Mahalal-el

6. Yered

7. חבוך Hanôk

8. מתושלת Metû-shelah

9. למד Lemek

וס. אוֹם Nôah (and his three sons Shem, Yaphet, and Ham)

דורד Hanôk.

עירד 'Irad (LXX Γαιδαδ, read  $\Gamma a \iota \rho a \hat{c}$ ).

מחריאל Mchûya-el.

שמל מתושאל Metû-ša-el.

Lemek.

(Three sons):— Yabal, Yubal and Tubal(-kain). With the exception of the transposition of Nos. 5 and 7, and some slight variants, the second list is absolutely identical with the first. At the same time it is clear, that the name of No. 1 cannot have been Adam, because we have ha-adam in the second list as a variant of No. 3, Enôsh, but perhaps (only instead of adôn, "Lord" (for Yahve, Yahu = Ya'u, Ea, compare the interesting paper of Mr. Pinches about Yâ in these Proceedings, p. 13-15), compare Luke iii. 38. Now we have:—

### Babylonian.

Hebrew.

Adôn (= Yahu or Ea?). Aruru (wife of Ea) Sheth (ilu Shiti or Marduk). Adapa(ra?) = MardukAmilu ("man") Enôsh or Adam ("man"). Ummânu ("artifex") Kainân or Kain ("artifex"). Amil-Aruru (" man of Aruru") Amel-alîl (see below). Duvu ("child") Yered ("descendant"). Adar-Aku ("splendour of A.") Han-ôk ("beauty of Aku"?). Metû-Shelah (" man of Sh."). Amil-Sin ("man of the Moon") Ubara - Tutu Lemek (Lamga, "the servant:" ("servant of a title of Sin). Merodach") Nûh-napišti (" rest of the soul")  $N\hat{o}^a h$  ("rest").

One glance on this juxtaposition will suggest a close relation and probably a common original of these two lists. In (for DTN) and DT we have only other names of the same gods; compare also the Egyptian Shet (the Babylonian Nergal, and brother of Merodach-Osiris). The same is the case in Metú-Shelah, because Shelah seems to be a younger pronunciation of Sharrahu (="Sin, as the god of the king Dungi of Ur," the same Ur, which was the original home of Abraham), being thus the exact equivalent of Amil-Sin. Mere translations are Enôsh or Adam for Amilu, Kainân for Ummânu, and perhaps Yered for Duvu,\* if Duvu is indeed the Babylonian original of the Berosian Daonos or Daos. For Amil-Aruru the Hebrew writer put probably TON, Neh. iii, 34, as a reminiscence of it, like TON (compare Arûru?), and

<sup>\*</sup> Also **עירר** ghirad seems to be an expression for "child," compare Egyptian xrd; it is perhaps only an older form for warad, yarad (compare also wa.aa, yalaa.)

a third, no longer understanding the sense of אמל, replaced it by the similar sounding word מהל, "praise." Edoranchus is perhaps Adar-Aku (compare adâru, "splendour," Delitzsch, Wörter-buch, p. 167), of which און, הון would be a partial translation (compare הון, "favour," but also "loveliness, beauty," in Hebrew).

But the translations of  $Amîlu\ (Enosh)$ , the following  $Ummânu\ (Kainân)$ , and the concluding  $Nûh\ (or\ Tapšah)$ -napišti (Nôh) would alone be sufficient to set it beyond doubt, that the list of the ten Hebrew patriarchs bears the marks of the closest relation to the Babylonian list of the ten antediluvian kings. Concluding, I remark, that in my opinion the Hebrew copyist (author of the so-called "priest-codex") must have lived centuries before the exile, because the names of the list of the so-called Jehovist (Gen. iv), are not so well preserved, and so presuppose the existence of the list of Genesis v.



### NOTES DE PHILOLOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

(Suite.)\*

77. Le groupe ; 78. Pithom et Heroonpolis; 79. Observations sur la manière de traduire adoptée par l'éditeur des textes des pyramides; 80. Passages de l'inscription d'Ahmès d'El-Kâb; 81. Expression, empruntée à une stèle du Musée de Leide; 82. Différents points de la stèle poétique de Thotmès III; 83. Le mot ; 84. Le mot ; 85. Le mot ; 85. Le mot ; 86. Le groupe ; 87. Le signe .

77. Dans un ouvrage qui a paru récemment,† j'ai rapproché le groupe \(\int\) du mot fréquent \(\oplus\) \(\int\). Le passage, pour lequel j'ai cru pouvoir attribuer au groupe en question la lecture hemes, a la teneur suivante:

dont la traduction ("Ta Sainteté est assise à *Utes-Hor*, sur le grand siège d'Harmachis") n'offre pas de difficultés.

Actuellement, je dois retracter la lecture *hemes*, retractation qui a été nécessitée par les exemples que voici, où se voient des variantes du groupe

<sup>\*</sup> Voir Proceedings, Vol. XV, p. 47.

<sup>†</sup> Piehl, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, Nouvelle Série, II, page 44.

<sup>‡</sup> PIEHL, I.I. I, LXX, 1. 6. Cf. BRUGSCH, Thesaurus, VI, 1359:

I I g m'assois sur le front de ta

"Il s'est placé sur l'appui d'Horus."†

"Il s'est placé sur l'appui d'Horus."†

"Il s'est assis sur le trône

d'Horus." 1

Il est évident que, dans ces circonstances, il faut lire notre groupe tes. Je n'hesiterais point de le rapprocher du groupe, généralement connu, et varr. A cet égard, on peut consulter l'exemple que voici:

ДАФО — — ФФ "Je me place sur le trône de l'horizon dans la ville de Tentyra" В Вкиськи [ Wörterbuch, IV, sich setzen," mais il en fait un vocable nouveau, séparé de celui de

78. Au sujet de la ville de Pithom, Brugsch dans son dernier travail se prononce ainsi: "Die Stadt selber hiess neben Pitum, das Herodot unter dem Namen Patumos kannte, bei den Griechen Heroopolis und diese Benennung selber schuldete wiederum einem

le passage que voici : Edfou," DÜMICHEN, l.l. 34, 4.

<sup>\*</sup> DÜMICHEN, Tempel-Inschriften, I, 57, 2.

<sup>†</sup> DÜMICHEN, ibid., 27, 9.

T DÜMICHEN, ibid., 23, 9. On doit corriger, suivant les exemples d'en haut,

<sup>§</sup> Texte de Dendérah,

<sup>|</sup> BRUGSCH, Steininschrift und Bibelwort, page 117. En constatant, que groupe \_\_\_\_\_ nar "die beiden Länder Gottes an den Küsten Ostafrikas" (page 168), nous ne pouvons ne pas faire remarquer qu'il aurait été logique de placer ces "pays" des deux côtés de la Mer Rouge, par où l'analogie avec "les deux pays" de l'Égypte aurait été complète. Toutefois, je regarde toujours 

ägyptischen Worte seinen bisher unbekannten Ursprung. Die Inschriften von Tell-el-Maschuta nennen denselben Platz Eru oder Ero, an welches Wort sich die Bedeutung von 'Vorrathshaus, Provianthaus' knüpft. Die Griechen machten aus Ero ein Hero, und die Namensbildung von Heroopolis war wie von selber gegeben."

C'est sans doute un oubli involontaire qui a conduit notre éminent confrère à parler de "l'origine jusqu'ici inconnue" du nom Heroopolis.—Goodwin—l'infatigable Goodwin—a ici, comme bien souvent ailleurs, donné la clef de l'énigme; du reste dans un sens, bien différent de celui, proposé par M. Brugsch. Dans un article, paru à la Zeitschrift de 1873,\* le regretté égyptologue a montré que le nom Héron grec correspond au nom égyptien Tmou, par exemple dans la traduction: ᾿Απόλλων κρατερός, νίὸς "Ηρωνος qu'a fournie Hermapion pour la bannière: "" "Horus, taureau victorieux, fils de Tmou," tracée sur l'obélisque flaminien de Rome. Goodwin, à ce sujet, fait observer que cela nous amène à identifier Pithom et Heroonpolis, et il se sert de cette combinaison pour modifier la lecture des Septantes: Ἡρώων πόλις en celle de "Ηρωνος πόλις, tout en invoquant la traduction copte qui donne ici fort justement Πε-Θωθε.

Les formes *Eru*, *Ero*, s'expliquent sans difficulté comme des abréviations, légèrement défigurées, du nom de localité Heroopolis ou Heroonpolis.

79. L'éditeur des textes des pyramides, qui en accompagne son édition de traductions littérales,† me semble assez souvent tourner des mots, déjà connus, de leurs sens avoués, pour remplacer ces derniers par d'autres qui n'ont pas été prouvés et dont l'introduction

<sup>\*</sup> Zeitschrift, XI, page 13.

<sup>†</sup> J'ai plusieurs fois blâmé les traductions littérales de M. MASPERO. Une excellente preuve du grand danger que présentent de pareilles traductions, nous offre le penchant de cet égyptologue de rendre la locution par "ne pas....chaque jour"; c'est-à-dire "quelquefois," au lieu de "ne ....jamais." Le principe qui s'applique à de tels procédés, c'est évidemment une espèce d'addition mathématique: si = "ne pas," et que = "chaque jour," il faut que = "chaque jour," = "ne pas....chaque jour." Mais le développement, de même que l'analyse, des langues ne sont nullement

quelquefois modifie notablement le fond réel de l'original. J'examinerai quelques-uns des cas, où M. Maspero, selon moi, a échoué quand il a voulu introduire des significations nouvelles pour des mots, depuis longtemps connus.

I.  $\Box$   $\Box$   $\Box$   $\Box$   $\Box$   $\Box$   $\Box$  La traduction "cracher, salive," que Brugsch, il y a longtemps, a prouvée pour ce groupe, est fortement appuyée par le déterminatif  $\Box$  qui représente d'une façon irréfutable "une bouche qui crache ou bave." Cela étant le sens d'un passage comme le suivant: †

doit se présenter de la sorte: "Pepi crache sur ta chevelure, ô Osiris. Il empêche qu'elle soit malade." La traduction de notre collègue français: "Pepi Noferkirî oint ta chevelure, Osiris, il ne met pas sa souffrance," par contre est inadmissible et d'ailleurs en partie incompréhensible. La première des deux traductions nous revèle du reste un phénomène qui a sa valeur, j'entends l'emploi

soumis à des règles mathématiques, non plus que l'âme humaine, elle-même. A propos de la traduction des textes des pyramides, que dit-on de celle-ci faite par l'éditeur d'après les textes d'Unas, lignes 218-220: "Alors tu deviens l'Atoum de tout dieu : ta tête est Hor-Taouti ; l'Akhim-sok de ton intérieur est Khont-miriti; l'Akhim-sok de tes deux oreilles, c'est les deux jumelles de Toum; l'Akhim-sok de tes yeux, c'est les deux jumelles de Toum; l'Akhim-sok de ton nez, c'est Anoubis; l'Akhim-sok de tes dents, c'est Soupti; l'Akhim-sok de tes bras, c'est Hopi et Touamoutw," etc. Pour ma part, je préférerais traduire le passage en question de cette manière : "Tu deviens la plénitude de tout dieu : ta tête est Horus de Taout, ô indestructible! Ton devant est Chont-merti, ô indestructible! Tes deux oreilles sont les deux filles de Tmou, ô indestructible! Tes deux yeux sont les deux filles de Tmou, ô indestructible! Ton nez est Anoubis, ô indestructible! Tes dents sont Sopt, ô indestructible! Tes deux bras sont Hapi et Touamoutf," etc. Je me demande vainement ce que c'est que l'Akhim-sok d'un nez, l'Akhim-sok des deux jumelles de Toum, etc. Quand on n'est pas capable de traduire mieux les textes, il est, à mon avis, préférable de ne pas les traduire du tout. De cette manière, on évite des peines inutiles aux hommes du métier. A la même fois, on échappe aux turlupinades des profanes qui exigent, avec quelque raison, que les traductions-sauf pour les termes techniques-soient intelligibles à tout le monde.

<sup>\*</sup> PIEHL, Remarques sur plusieurs signes et groupes hiéroglyphiques, § 1 (Actes du Congrès des Orientalistes de Stockholm).

<sup>+</sup> Pyramide de Pepi II, 958.

de la salive comme moyen prophylactique, fait auquel la seconde traduction ne fait pas d'allusion.

De même, le passage que voici: 

\* ne signifie-t-il pas: "Tu fends la face d'Hor et tu détruis ses péchés," comme le veut M. MASPERO, mais plutôt: "Tu craches à la figure d'Horus et (par là!) tu chasses ses péchés."

D'où vient ici le sens "fendre"? Le déterminatif proposition du mot pesek représente d'ailleurs "une bouche qui crache ou bave," † ce qui n'est guère de nature à rendre admissible un sens "fendre" pour le mot en question.

Quand M. MASPERO, critiquant BRUGSCH, se prononce ainsi: 
"Le passage du Todtenbuch auquel il (= BRUGSCH) renvoie (ch. 147,

1. 17)

que le passage de notre texte, indiquent nécessairement le sens

tailler, couper, blesser. Le déterminatif proposition serait ici, comme dans

et dans plusieurs autres mots, le déterminatif de la

blessure laissant écouler le sang "—il faut faire remarquer que
l'égyptologue français se trompe doublement: 1° parce que le déterminatif proposition proposition, comme nous venons d'observer, ne présente pas une

plaie saignante; 2° parce que l'exemple, emprunté au Todtenbuch,
signifie ceci: "Je repousse le serpent Apophis, je crache sur (= je

rends inoffensifs) les nespu (= "morsures"?).

Il me semble donc que, d'accord avec Brugsch, nous pouvons toujours en rester à la traduction "cracher, salive," comme la seule admissible pour le groupe  $\Box\bigcap\boxtimes_{\Gamma} \Box$  et varr.§

2. Selon M. Maspero, || "le mot signifie travailler au conteau par suite égorger,—travailler à l'herminette ou à la hache, par suite façonner, tailler, etc."

<sup>\*</sup> Pyramide d' Unas, 214. † PIEHL, loc. cit.

<sup>‡</sup> Dans une note, relative au passage, cité d'après le texte d'Unas, note qui se voit Recueil III, page 203.

<sup>§</sup> Dans les textes religieux, le crachement équivalait au terrassement de l'ennemi, efr. BUDGE, The hieratic papyrus of Nesi-Amsu, page 110.

<sup>||</sup> Recueil XII, page 68, note 4.

Je suis tenté de croire que le groupe dérive du substantif "main," suivant la même règle qui a présidé à la formation de mots, comme par rapport à par rappo

ce qui, à mon avis, signifie: "Sa sandale est saisie ou maniée par la main levée."‡

d'un pilon, ton ennemi "—comme on pourrait peut-être le traduire.

Du sens "traiter, travailler à la main" dérive fort naturellement celui de "traiter, travailler," par une sorte d'ellipse dont on pourrait citer force analogies. Ce sens convient pour cet exemple-ci: || \( \text{\text{\$\subset\$0 \text{\$\subset\$0 \text{\$\subset\$

<sup>\*</sup> PIEHL dans le *Recueil* I, page 200. La note 2 de cette page a été composée et introduite par le Rédacteur de ce journal sans ma permission et sans ma connaissance.

<sup>†</sup> Pyramide de Teta, 32.

<sup>‡</sup> La traduction que donne M. MASPERO pour ce passage, est celle-ci: "Quand il lui arrange sa sandale, (alors) c'est la main de Teti qui le soulève."

<sup>§</sup> Pyramide de Teta, 278.

<sup>|</sup> VON BERGMANN, Hierogl. Inschriften, XXVIII, 3.

D'autres exemples très instructifs sont les suivants:

Queue, Teta te saisit par ta partie lumineuse."\*

tu le travailles de ta main." †

saisit?) ses deux mamelles pour son fils, Horus.";

La locution qui parait intriguer M. Maspero, mais qui selon lui semble avoir le sens général "prendre la main de quelqu'un"—a réellement ce sens partout où—dans des exemples innombrables—je l'ai rencontrée. "Serrer, presser la main" serait peut-être plus conforme à la signification originaire de . Par contre, l'explication "die Hand ausstrecken" que, à l'exemple du regretté von Bergmann, Brugsch propose pour la locution doit nécessairement être abandonnée.

Par l'étymologie que j'ai donnée en haut, tous les emplois du groupe s'expliquent sans aucune difficulté. Je crois inutile d'en faire longuement la preuve, à moins qu'on ne critique l'acception que je soutiens, auquel cas j'aurai le plaisir de publier une partie des matériaux que j'ai ramassés sous ce rapport.

3. des textes des pyramides est sans doute une variante de de ce premier groupe dans des phrases, comme—

<sup>\*</sup> Pyramide de Teta, 45. M. MASPERO propose pour ce passage la traduction suivante : "Quand tu fais tes sorties, Teti est frappé de ta queue, Teti est saisi de ta splendeur."

<sup>†</sup> Pyramide de Teta, 176. ‡ Pyramide de Pepi II, 982.

<sup>§</sup> Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique, VI, page 706.

<sup>∥</sup> Cette dernière forme se voit aussi aux textes des pyramides. Cfr., par exemple, Unas, l. 445. On peut d'ailleurs prétendre que les signes ⊙, ⊘, ⋈, comme déterminatifs, s'échangent entre eux à presque toutes les époques de l'écriture égyptienne.

(a.) A \* "Horus t'a donné de maltraiter tes ennemis avec (cet œil), lui qui avec cet œil brille sur son ennemi," dont la variante 

† "Horus t'a donné de maltraiter tes ennemis avec (cet œil), lui qui ne brille pas avec son œil sur ton ennemi"—indique qu'un changement s'est produit dans l'acception originaire (?).

(b.) The survival of the survi

Les sens "abattre, multiplier" demandent à être prouvés. Sans cela, il me paraît préférable de garder pour le groupe of et varr. la signification, communément adoptée, de "briller, resplendir, illuminer," etc.

4. Les textes des pyramides nous font voir bien souvent deux mots, et , qui, la plupart du temps, entrent dans une même expression pour former des membres parallèles. L'éditeur de

<sup>\*</sup> Pyramide de Teta, 174. Selon M. MASPERO, il faut traduire ici: "Hor t'a donné de tailler en pièces ton ennemi avec (cet œil), il abat avec (cet œil) ton ennemi."

<sup>+</sup> Pyramide de Pepi I, 120.

<sup>‡</sup> Pyramide de Pepi II, 666. M. MASPERO: "quand il s'est multiplié en vous."

ces textes propose pour ces deux vocables des significations assez diverses, suivant lui se traduisant tantôt par "force," tantôt par "avoir une destinée," tantôt par "être doué de volonté"; signifiant une fois "être fort," une autre "être garni," une troisième "âme," un quatrième "avoir une âme," et ainsi de suite. Dans les textes de Pepi II, qui viennent \* de paraître, nous rencontrons le passage suivant

ce qu'a traduit M. Maspero "qu'eux soient fournis, qu'eux ils aient une destinée, qu'eux ils aient une âme, qu'eux ils prédominent," etc. Les deux expressions soulignées nous offrent donc le sens des deux dits mots, tel qu'à ce moment notre honorable confrère le recommande. Nous connaissons pour d'autres époques des expressions, analogues à l'exemple cité d'après les textes de Pepi II, et qui à la même fois fournissent des déterminatifs pour les mots en question. J'en citerai ici quelques-unes, dignes d'être consultées:

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Les déterminatifs qui accompagnent  $\bar{u}a\ddot{s}$  et  $bu\bar{u}a$  de ces exemples montrent qu'il faut conférer à ces mots d'autres significations que celles préconisées par notre confrère français. M. VON BERGMANN § a déjà pour prouvé le sens "erhaben sein"; je n'ai donc pas à m'occuper de développer ultérieurement des conclusions pour fixer la signification de ce mot. Quant à

<sup>\*</sup> Le fascicule du Recueil où ils se voient portent la date de 1892.

<sup>+</sup> SCHIAPARELLI, Il libro dei funerali, page 117.

<sup>‡</sup> DÜMICHEN, Grabpalast des Petuamenapet, II, 2.

<sup>§</sup> Der Sarkofag des Panehemesis, II, 17.

<sup>||</sup> Je crois toutesois que le sens originaire de nest plutôt "erheben," lever.

et varr., je ne vois aucune raison d'abandonner les sens de "être gai, se réjouir," etc., qu'a proposés Brugsch\* pour ce vocable.

Peut-être avons-nous à regarder of the comme apparenté au verbe of the character of the sens originaire en deviendrait alors "être élevé, s'élever," ou quelque chose de pareil.

80. Ayant dernièrement, à mon cours à l'université d'Upsal, traité de l'inscription d'Ahmès d'El-Kâb, j'ai dû examiner à fonds plusieurs passages difficiles que renferme ce texte. De cet examen sont résultées quelques nouvelles interprétations‡ que je prends la liberté de soumettre à l'examen des collègues.

Ligne 10: — Ligne

<sup>\*</sup> Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique, V, 399. De même que pour , je crois que quant à un sens actif ait pu être l'originaire. Cfr. par exemple BERGMANN, Hierogl. Inschriften, XLIII, 9. Cfr., maintenant, LE PAGE RENOUF, Proceedings, XIV, page 401.

<sup>†</sup> Le nom de dieu 🖟 @ 引 signifie à mon sens, "celui qui soulève."

<sup>‡</sup> Je doute toujours de l'existence d'un lac "Pat'etku" ou "Zedku d'Auaris" (efr. Brugsch, Dictionnaire Géographique, page 1006, et Meyer, Geschichte des alten Ægyptens, page 213). Il y a maintenant plus de 13 ans, j'ai formulé mon opinion à ce sujet (Recueil de Vieweg, I, page 134).

<sup>§</sup> Voir Zeitschrift, XXVIII, page 16, où j'ai cité cet exemple et à la même fois énoncé une règle nouvelle, relative à la syntaxe égyptienne—règle qui paraît être considérée comme exacte, parceque d'autres interprètes s'en sont déjà servi après moi, bien entendu avec la discrétion ouable de passer sous silence le nom de son auteur.

ruine, j'ai relevé ce qui était resté inachevé"

depuis que les

Amou furent à la ville d'Avaris de la Basse Égypte."

du premier texte correspond de très près à du second texte, comme construction grammaticale. Le seul obstacle qu'il y aurait à notre interprétation "au sud de cette localité d'Égypte," serait peut-être la présence de l'article devant de certe d'Ahmès emploie si souvent l'article défini qu'une expression comme l'Égypte" ne paraît guère trop hasardée.

Ligne 11:— Ce que je traduirais: (J'enlevais un ennemi vaincu.) "Lorsque je descendais vers l'eau, il fut captivé, ayant été saisi sur la voie, conduisant à la ville."

BRUGSCH\* a traduit ce passage: "Ich stieg hinab ins Wasser. Ihn also führend, um abseits zu bleiben von der Strasse der Stadt," et tout le monde paraît avoir admis sa manière de voir. Mais "ich stieg hinab ins Wasser" (je descendis dans l'eau) ne se dit pas Pour obtenir pareil sens, il faudrait substituer la préposition à la place de celle de ... Voici quelques preuves en faveur de mon assertion:

Place qu'il occupe."†

"Le roi s'élève vers le ciel, il descend vers la terre.";

<sup>\*</sup> Geschichte Aegyptens, page 232. BRUGSCH suit ici la version de CHABAS, Les pasteurs en Égypte, page 20.

<sup>†</sup> Papyrus Anastasi, II, 2, I.

<sup>‡</sup> Pyramide de Merenra, l. 531.

Je ne puis comprendre d'où l'on prend "abseits zu bleiben von" qui se trouve dans les traductions que j'ai vues pour notre passage.

Pour les mots soulignés, les autres traductions offrent "en l'an V" (Chabas), "im Jahre VI" (sic, Brugsch).\* Mais, alors il aurait fallu rencontrer \( \begin{aligned} \sum \begin{aligned} \lefta \cdot \begin{aligned} \lefta \lefta \cdot \\ \lefta \end{aligned}.\) En réalité, les textes de la belle époque hiéroglyphique n'emploient pas indiféremment \( \begin{aligned} \lefta \cdot \end{aligned} \) et \( \begin{aligned} \lefta \cdot \end{aligned}.\) La première forme est d'usage quand il s'agit de dater les événements d'un regne pharaonique, \( \sum \cdot \end{aligned} \) désigne plutôt une somme d'années additionnées. \( Cfr. \text{ p. ex. } \sum \end{aligned} \) \( \begin{aligned} \lefta \lefta \cdot \end{aligned} \) \( \begin{aligned} \lefta \lefta \lefta \cdot \end{aligned} \) \( \begin{aligned} \lefta \lefta \lefta \cdot \end{aligned} \) \( \begin{aligned} \lefta \lefta \lefta \lefta \cdot \end{aligned} \) \( \begin{aligned} \lefta \left

signifie peut-être: "Je manifestais ma vaillance, en sa présence, sur l'eau affreuse, en sauvant (?) les navires de charge de chavirer" (et grâce à ces mérites, je fus promu au grade de capitaine). Cette traduction est purement conjecturale, mais me semble bien vraisemblable. Toutefois je n'ose pas combler la lacune qui devrait renfermer le substantif verbal, signifiant "sauvetage."

<sup>\*</sup> EDOUARD MEYER ( /. /. page 216): "Im fünften Jahre seiner Regierung."

<sup>†</sup> Papyrus Harris No. 1, 33 a, 4. Une confusion dans l'emploi de  $\bigcap_{i=0}^{\infty}$  et  $\bigcap_{i=0}^{\infty}$  et  $\bigcap_{i=0}^{\infty}$  et produit de bonne heure. Vers l'époque saïte et les basses époques, la règle, donnée en haut, est presque effacée.

81. Le musée de Leide possède une stèle, provenant de l'emplacement de l'ancien Achmîm.\* Ce monument se trouve actuellement dans un état de dégradation assez avancé, ce qui m'empêche d'en donner ici le texte. Il m'a cependant fourni une variante curieuse d'une formule très connue, j'entends la suivante:

La manière dont s'écrit ici la préposition fréquente , mérite d'être relevée. Une fois, il y a , une autre , une troisième ou , suivant qu'on suppose qu'un ait été sauté devant voi ou que le signe qui précède ce dernier groupe soit à corriger en . Le plus vraisemblable, c'est que nous avons à considérer les trois variantes comme caractéristiques de la basse époque. Dans ce cas, † se lirait comme et .

J'ai ailleurs ! montré que la préposition de bonne heure s'écrit .

82. Ayant dernièrement repris l'étude de la stèle poétique de Thotmès III, j'ai cru devoir apporter certaines modifications aux traductions antérieures de ce texte. Je les passerai en revue dans cette note.

<sup>\*</sup> La stèle porte le numéro V, 20. La présence des déesses dans la série de divinités, invoquées dans le préambule de la formule d'offrande, m'a déterminé à trouver à Achmîm la place d'où aurait été transportée la pierre de Leide.

<sup>‡</sup> Zeitschrift, 1886, page 82.

<sup>§</sup> J'ai pu consulter celles de DE ROUGÉ (Rev. Arch., N.S., vol. iv, page 199), de BRUGSCH (Geschichte Aegyptens, page 352), et de M. MASPERO (Du genre épistolaire). Cette dernière ne diffère que fort peu—et alors surtout grâce au Dictionnaire de BRUGSCH—de la traduction de DE ROUGÉ.

Ligne I. January Ligne I. Ici, il faut admettre l'acception, soutenue par de Rougé, suivant laquelle set un impératif. Cela paraît aussi être l'avis de Brugsch\* et de Maspero,† tandisque Erman‡ préfère un sens indicatif. En faveur de notre thèse nous citons les exemples suivants :

Séti I Sé

"Éveille-toi en paix, Ptah-Seker, sois attentif aux paroles de ton cycle divin."

Ligne 2.— "Je t'ai établi dans mon sanctuaire." Ici de Rougé et, après lui, M. Maspero, traduisent, "je suis établi dans ma demeure"; et l'acception de Brugsch ("ich stehe aufrecht da in meiner Wohnung") ne diffère guère des autres. Actuellement, je n'ai guère besoin d'accumuler des preuves en faveur d'une observation que Brugsch, lui-même, a énoncée ¶ à une époque, antérieure à celle où il a livré la traduction de la stèle poétique de Thotmès III.

Ligne 7.— Ligne

<sup>\*</sup> Geschichte, page 352.

<sup>†</sup> Du genre épistolaire, page 85.

<sup>‡</sup> Zeitschrift, 1889, page 75.—Voir maintenant MAX MÜLLER, Zeitschrift, XXIX, page 99, où l'acception impérative est défendue.

<sup>§</sup> LEPSIUS, Denkmäler, III, 127 b.

<sup>|</sup> MARIETTE, Abydos, II, 51.

<sup>¶</sup> Hierogl. Grammatik (1872), page 40.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Lepsius, Denkmäler, III, 60 W.

de la première n'est guère une seule expression, comme l'ont voulu de Rougé\* et Brugsch.† À mon avis, le groupe de ce passage serait un déterminatif, appartenant au mot de la pidaire. Il est certain que le monument qui nous occupe fournit beaucoup d'autres exemples d'une inadvertance pareille.

Ligne 9.— "il a ramené captifs (les peuples de Ad?), liés par leurs chevelures," selon de Rougé, dont la traduction a été adoptée par M. Maspero, sauf pour le nom de peuple of que ce dernier savant lit Kàdi. J'avoue que cette traduction me paraît fort attrayante. En tout cas, elle est préférable à celle de Brugsch: "Sie zieht heran und bemächtigt sich der falschen Brut der Kittim" pour le même passage.

Dans ces circonstances, ce n'est qu'avec la plus grande hésitation que je voudrais proposer ici l'interprétation suivante : "Elle amène prisonniers des Nebețu-keț." Ce dernier nom de peuple est jusqu'ici inconnu et je ne connais—en dehors de ce passage—qu'un seul texte qui en fasse mention, à savoir la stèle de Tombos, où la ligne 7 donne :

Si ce dernier passage se rapproche d'un côté du suivant :

"ils ne s'esquivent pas, approchant pour payer leur respect, à l'égal
de ce qui n'existe pas"; ‡ de l'autre côté de celui-ci :

"il n'y a pas eu de désertion de mes
guerriers" \$\int \text{il} \text{ faut convenir qu'une traduction "il n'y a pas de

<sup>\*</sup> Rev. Archéol., IV, page 205.

<sup>†</sup> Verhandlungen des fünften internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses II, page 43: mu-sen-ur oder mu-rer-ur "das stark gewundene "oder" in einem grossen Bogen dahinlaufende Wasser."

<sup>#</sup> L'inscription d' Ahmès d'El-Kâb.

<sup>§</sup> L'inscription d'Ameni de Beni-Hassan.

désertion de la part des *Nebețu-keț* qui viennent pour le protèger, sans qu'un seul en fasse défaut," pour la citation d'après le texte de Tombos, puisse paraître très-vraisemblable.

En faveur de l'interprétation nouvelle de *la ligne* 9 de la stèle poétique de Thotmès III, je citerai d'ailleurs l'emploi de la locution par exemple dans l'expression suivante : "tout son monde étant butin captivé." †

Mais, je le repéte, je ne donne cette explication nouvelle de la ligne 9 de notre monument qu'avec la plus grande hésitation, hésitation fondée sur l'expérience que j'ai souvent faite, qu'une phrase ou une expression peut avoir quelquefois deux sens différents, sans que rien indique la nécessité ni de l'un ni de l'autre.

Ligne 10.— Μ Μ mem. Cette forme étant ἄπαξ λεγόμενου, je préfère la corriger en M M am, correction d'autant plus autorisée que nous pouvons citer un autre cas (ligne 4) où notre monument a confondu les deux signes M et M.‡

<sup>\*</sup> LEPSIUS, Denkmäler, III, 61.

<sup>†</sup> L'inscription d'Ahmès d'El-Kâb.

<sup>‡</sup> Le sens originaire de A A n'est pas "dévorer" (DE ROUGE), mais plutôt "saisir, embrasser."

, en renversant l'ordre des signes) les chefs des Amou ; ils ne savent pas se sauver, leurs enfants tombant par sa puissance." Cette traduction s'écarte beaucoup des traductions antérieures, dont le principal tort est d'avoir rendu le groupe 111 par "têtes."\* Le groupe ne signifie pas "résister" (DE ROUGÉ, M. MASPERO), mais plutôt "se sauver, s'éclipser," d'accord avec l'acception de Brugsch. De même, n'a jamais le sens transitif de "détruire" (DE ROUGÉ, M. MASPERO), mais bien l'intransitif de "tomber, se détruire" (Вкисьсн). Dans le groupe 🗂 🗐 🐧 🔥 је vois avec de Rougé et M. Maspero une forme du mot "enfant" au pluriel, plus le suffixe pronominal | | ...... (lisez donc peutêtre: quant à ce mot, du groupe (Wörterbuch, II, page 704) ne me sourit pas. Je n'ai d'ailleurs pas besoin de citer d'autres textes en faveur de mon acception de ce passage, car chaque égyptologue pourra en trouver, s'il veut bien se donner la peine de chercher.

Ligne 16.—
"Taureau jeune, ferme de cœur, muni de cornes, qu'on ne repousse pas." La partie soulignée de cette traduction, qui diffère des autres, faites pour le même passage, présuppose une correction de la fin de l'expression égyptienne, à savoir ou ou correction de la fin de l'expression égyptienne, à savoir ou correction de la fin d

<sup>\*</sup> Cfr. PIEHL, dans la Zeitschrift, 1888, page 114.

<sup>†</sup> DE ROUGÉ, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, Pl. LXVIII.

<sup>‡</sup> LEPSIUS, Denkmäler, III, 73 d.

d'accord avec de Rougé, mais je ne connais pas d'exemples d'un pareil emploi du verbe , ayant à la même fois soit le sens de "résister" (de Rougé et M. Maspero) soit celui de "approcher" (Brugsch).

Ligne 19.— Semblable à un lion furieux, qui les réduit à l'état de cadavres dans leurs vallées." J'ai ailleurs\* proposé et motivé cette explication qui diffère foncièrement de celle des autres traducteurs.

Ligne 25.— "Je t'ai ordonné de la faire et j'en suis satisfait." C'est là la traduction de DE ROUGÉ, et elle parfaitement exacte. Par contre ni M. MASPERO ("je t'ai ordonné d'en agir ainsi et je me repose") ni BRUGSCH ("ich gab dir den Befehl sie auszuführen, und du warst einverstanden damit ) n'ont ici réussi à trouver le vrai sens du fond de notre texte.

Voilà les observations que m'a suggérées un examen récent de la stèle poétique de Thothmès III.†

83. En parcourant le commentaire, si instructif, dont accompagne notre maître à tous, M. LE PAGE RENOUF, son excellente traduction du Livre des Morts, je vois que le mot hiéroglyphique traduction du Livre des Morts, je vois que le mot hiéroglyphique et varr. par lui est expliqué comme "the Look-out on the bow," la vigie à la proue d'un navire.‡ Pour ma part j'ai soutenu, et je soutiens toujours, que désigne la partie opposée d'un navire, c'est-à-dire la poupe, et je demanderai la permission de citer une preuve qui me paraît parler très vigoureusement en faveur de mon opinion sur cette matière.

<sup>\*</sup> Piehl, dans la Zeitschrift, 1886, page 19.

<sup>†</sup> Ayant déjà terminé cette note, j'ai eu l'occasion de parcourir la traduction, livrée par BIRCH (*Records of the Past*, II, pages 29–35) pour cette inscription. J'ajoute que la dite traduction semble aussi être inexacte pour tous les points, critiqués en haut, excepté celui de la ligne 10, où l'auteur a découvert *la moitié* de la verité.

<sup>‡</sup> Proceedings, XIV, page 359.

Le papyrus Ani qui a été édité avec tant de soin par M. Le Page Renouf, porte (I, 15) ceci :

En rapprochant de ce passage l'extrait suivant d'un texte de la belle époque hiéroglyphique:

\*\* il me semble évident que doit s'accorder avec l'expression

\*\* il me semble évident que du second exemple.

\*\* Mais le timon—ou plutôt les timons—étant attaché à la poupe du navire égyptien, il faut que de en dénote cette partie.

J'ai encore une raison—celle-ci également philologique—en faveur de mon acception du mot Jacob Dans les textes égyptiens, le radical Jacob sert à exprimer les notions "accomplir, terminer, fin, terme," à la différence par exemple de Jacob Qui rend les notions opposées "débuter, commencer, début, commencement." La corrélation qu'il y a entre ces deux radicaux est surtout manifeste pour la locution composée Jacob Dans les textes.

<sup>\*</sup> DE ROUGÉ, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, XXV.

<sup>†</sup> Notre vénéré confrère nous permettra-t-il de lui soumettre quelques observations sur un autre point de sa traduction du chapitre XV du Todtenbuch! C'est concernant l'expression suivante:

84. Le Dictionnaire (BRUGSCH, VI, page 574) donne un mot avant le sens de "Hausfrau, Frau." A cette occasion, l'autorité de Goodwin est citée, suivant lequel le dit mot se verrait au Papyrus Sallier, IV, page I, L. 4. En consultant ce texte hiératique, on voit que la transcription du passage en question est à peu près celle-ci: "En d'autres termes, il n'y a pas de déterminatif après la combinaison de signes "ne reçois pas d'un étranger...." En d'autres termes, il n'y a pas de déterminatif après la combinaison de signes "nais au lieu de il faut transcrire il, ce qui donne un excellent sens. Il n'y a par conséquent aucune raison d'accorder droit de cité au mot prétendu "Hausfrau." Effaçons-le donc du Dictionnaire.

85. Parmi les différentes formes d'écriture qu'il y a pour le mot égyptien "fils," le Dictionnaire (Brugsch, Wörterbuch, IV, 1151; voir aussi Brugsch, Hierogl. Grammatik, page 122, No. 145) compte aussi "le chacal avec un barre vertical superposé." Cette dernière variante est dite provenir d'El-Kâb et appartenir à la belle époque hiéroglyphique.

Ayant longuement examiné des textes de cette dernière localité, comme d'autres, provenant de Thèbes et datant de la même époque, j'ai pu me convaincre qu'on n'y rencontre nulle part un mot in ayant le sens de "fils," tandisque j'ai mainte fois relevé ou le signe is seul, ayant la valeur d'un titre de fonctionnaire ("juge" ou quelque chose de semblable) ou le groupe in composé du mot i "fils" et du titre de fonctionnaire susmentionnée.

Je n'hésite pas à expliquer le prétendu mot  $\frac{1}{2}$  ("fils"), comme une erreur à la place de  $\frac{1}{2}$  "fils du juge," que cette erreur soit due au copiste moderne ou au scribe égyptien.

À mon avis, le mot the "fils" doit donc disparaître du Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique.

86. srsn [Brugsch, Dictionnaire, VII, page 1088] est dit être un mot, signifiant "mit einander fechten, zu zweien kämpfen." Mais il n'en est rien. Il faut plutôt lire ser-senāḥā et traduire "ils arrangent une bataille." Le détérminatif du mot āḥā est exceptionel, mais tout-à-fait conforme à l'usage des auteurs de basses époques, d'où datent les textes auxquels a été empruntée la citation en question. Quant au mot ser, l'emploi n'en offre ici aucune particularité non plus. Cfr., par exemple, la phrase suivante, relative au dieu Thoth:

"celui qui prépare la venue d'Horus pour prendre possession de son navire de guerre, celui qui renverse ses adversaires par ses formules." \*

Je me vois donc dans la nécessité de demander que le groupe prétendu srsn disparaisse du Dictionnaire.†

87. Dans un article de la Zeitschrift,‡ j'ai fait remarquer que le signe, jusque-là inexpliqué \( \sqrt{}\), représente l'ensemble des yeux et du bec de l'oiseau \( \sqrt{}\).

<sup>\*</sup> NAVILLE, Mythe d'Horus, Pl. I. Le prétendu mot ser-sen provient de la même collection de textes.

<sup>†</sup> Je maintiens toujours l'avis favorable que j'ai énoncé (Le Muséon, I, 594) concernant le Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique de Brussch, avis qui est partagé par un savant de la valeur de M. DÜMICHEN. Mes critiques s'adressent la phipart du temps uniquement à des détails de cet admirable ouvrage. Quel serait d'ailleurs l'ouvrage qui sur le terrain d'une science en progrès quotidien, comme l'égyptologie, pût constamment faire face à toutes les exigences? Je tiens à relever cela tout particulièrement pour le compte d'un de ces égyptologues qui parlent beaucoup et n'écrivent rien de bien sérieux, et qui tout dernièrement cans ma présence s'est permis des paroles bien négligentes à l'endroit du principal vademecum des égyptologues.

<sup>‡</sup> Zeitschrift, 1888, page 113.

Cette observation est corroborée par la variante \*\* que nous rencontrons pour le mot qui communément s'écrit \*\* ou \*\* ou \*\*. Le déterminatif de la dernière forme représente l'ensemble du nez et de l'œil d'un individu humain.

Une autre preuve en faveur du même avis, c'est la variante du mot fréquent La forme cest à regarder comme une "Contamination-form" des deux autres.

\* BIRCH dans la Zeitschrift, 1871, page 51.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 2nd May, 1893, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*). "The Book of the Dead."— Translation and Commentary (*continuation*).



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By P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq. (President);

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OF

## THE SOCIETY

OF

### BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

# VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION. APRIL [No MEETING].

Sixth Meeting, May 2nd, 1893.

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1893.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

#### **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

### THE SOCIETY

OF

### BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

Sixth Meeting, 2nd May, 1893.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The President referred to the very great loss which Oriental learning had sustained, and this Society in particular, of which he was one of the most honoured Members, by the death of Mr. Robert Bensly, Lord Almoner Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. He referred to Professor Bensly's very great and especial merits, not the least of which was the austere conscientiousness with which he drew his conclusions on any matter submitted to his judgment.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Société Impériale Archéologique de Moscou Antiquités Orientales; Travaux de la Commission Orientale de la Société. Tome I, livr. III. Moscou, 1893. 4to. (In Russian.)

From the Author:—M. V. Nicolski. Deux fragments assyriens, appurtenant au prince P. A. Pontiatine. 4to. 1893.

[No. cxv.]

From the Author:—M. V. Nicolski. Les inscriptions cunéiformes des rois de Van, trouvées en Russie. 4to. 1893.

From the Travaux de la Commission Orientale de la Société Impériale Archéologique de Moscou.

From the Author:—Prof. Eduard Sachau. Die Altaramaïsche Inschrift auf des Statue des Königs Panammû von Šam-al, aus dem 8 Jahrhundert vor Chr. Geb. Folio. Berlin. 1893.

Reprinted from der Mittheilungen aus den Orient. Samml. des Königl. Museums zu Berlin. Hefte XI.

From the Author:—Theo. G. Pinches. Notes on some recent discoveries in the realm of Assyriology, with special reference to the private life of the Babylonians. 8vo. 1893 (?)

Reprinted from the Journal of the Victoria Institute (?) Vol. XXVI.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittîm o Hethei. Parte seconda, Introduzione. 8vo. 1893.

Civiltà Cattolica. Serie XV. Vol. VI.

From the Author:—Rev. Jos. Horner, D.D. The Chronology of Israel and Assyria in the reign of Shalmaneser II. 8vo.

From the Methodist Review, Sept.—Oct., 1889.

From the Author:—Rev. Joseph Horner, D.D. Hezekiah, Sargon, and Sennacherib, a chronological study. 8vo.

From the Methodist Review. Jan., 1893.

From the Author:—Prof. W. D. Whitney. On Delbrück's Vedic Syntax.

From the American Journ. of Philology. Vol. XIII.

From the Author:—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Der Tanz im alten Aegypten. Am Ur-Quell. IV. Band. I. Heft. 8vo. 1893.

From the Author:—T. Hunter Boyd. A Crisis in Egypt (?), or what happened on the day of the Exodus. 8vo. London. 1893.

From Rev. R. Gwynne (Sec. For. Corresp.):—Clementis Romani Epistulae. Ad ipsius Codicis Alexandrini fidem ac modum repetitis curís edidit Constantinus de Tischendorf. Lipsiae. 4to. 1873.

From T. Hunter Boyd:—Versuch über die Religion der alten Aegypter und Griechen von Paul Joachim Siegmund Vogel. Nürnberg. 4to. 1793.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 7th March, 1893, and elected Members of the Society:—

Miss Nash, Cranham, Kents Road, Torquay, Devon.

Mrs. A. Heymanson, 13, Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.

Rev. James Davidson, B.D., Free Church Manse, North Berwick, Scotland.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 6th June, 1893:—

J. H. Barber, B A., (Lond.), The Accacias, Grange Road, Sutton, W. E. Crum, Savile Club, Piccadilly, W. [Surrey. Henry A. Harper, Cliff House, Milford on Sea, Lymington, Hants. Miss S. C. Rucker, 4, Vanbrugh Terrace, Blackheath.

Mr. P. le Page Renouf (*President*) read his translations of Chapters 76–88 of the Book of the Dead.

These chapters have reference to the transformations after death. It was pointed out, in the first place, that every one of the transformations assumed by the deceased is a well-known mythical form of the Sun god; and secondly, that no identity or connection can be established between the Egyptian doctrines and those of Hindus or Greeks on the subject of Metempsychosis. The Egyptian transformations are expressly stated to be entirely voluntary, and the nature of them to depend upon the will and pleasure of the glorified personage himself, whereas both in India and in Greece transmigration is a penalty incurred for sin in a previous life. There is no trace in the Rig-Veda of any doctrine of transmigration, so that it cannot be considered as Indo-European. The ignorance of Herodotos may be excused, when he ascribes to the Egyptians a doctrine which he had heard of among the Pythagoreans or other Greeks, but it is simple quackery when those who pretend to understand Egyptian texts talk of "the belief that the soul, having passed through various transformations, would reinhabit the body, after undefined ages." No such belief is known to any one worthy of the name of a scholar.

Remarks were added by Walter Morison; Rev. A. Löwy; Rev. James Marshall; Joseph Pollard; E. Towry Whyte.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

#### BOOK OF THE DEAD.

#### By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

#### CHAPTER XLII.

Chapter whereby one hindereth the slaughter which is wrought at Sutenhenen (1).

Land of the Rod, of the White Crown of the Image, and the Pedestal of the gods.

I am the Babe (2). (Said Four Times.)

O Serpent Abur! (3) Thou sayest this day, "The Block of Execution is furnished with what thou knowest," and thou art come to soil (4) the Mighty One.

But I am he whose honours are abiding.

I am the Link (5), the god within the Tamarisk (6), who connecteth (7) the Solar orb with Yesterday. (Four Times.)

I am Râ, whose honours are abiding.

I am the Link, the god within the Tamarisk.

My course is the course of Râ, and the course of Râ is my course.

My hair is that of Nu, (8)

My two eyes are those of Hathor,

My two ears those of Apuat,

My nose that of Chenti-chas,

My two lips those of Anubis,

My teeth those of Selkit,

My neck that of Isis, the Mighty,

My two hands those of the Soul most Mighty, Lord of Tattu,

My shoulders those of Neith, Mistress of Sais,

My back is that of Sut,

My phallus that of Osiris,

My liver is that of the Lords of Cher-ābat,

My knees those of the most Mighty one,

My belly and my back are those of Sechit,

My hinder parts are those of the Eye of Horus,

My legs and thighs those of Nut,

My feet those of Ptah,

My nails and bones those of the Living Uraei.

There is not a limb in me which is without a god. And Thoth is a protection to my flesh.

I shall not be grasped by my arms or seized by my hands.

Not men or gods, or the glorified ones or the damned; not generations past, present, or future, shall inflict any injury upon me.

I am he who cometh forth and proceedeth, and whose name is unknown to man.

I am Yesterday, "Witness of Eternity" is my Name: the persistent traveller upon the heavenly highways which I survey. I am the Everlasting one.

I am felt and thought of as Chepera. I am the Crowned one.

I am the Dweller in the Eye and in the Egg.

It is an attribute of mine that I live within them.

I am the Dweller in the Eye, even in its closing.

I am that by which it is supported.

I come forth and I rise up: I enter and I have life.

I am the Dweller in the Eye; my seat is upon my throne, and I sit conspicuously upon it.

I am Horus, who steppeth onwards through Eternity.

I have instituted the throne of which I am the master.

As regards my mouth: whether in speech or in silence, I am right and fair.

As regards my attributes: I hasten headlong, I the god Unen,\* with all that pertaineth to me, hour proceeding from hour, the One proceeding from the One, in my course.

I am the Dweller in the Eye; no evil or calamitous things befall me.

It is I who open the gates of Heaven; it is I who am master o the throne, and who open the series of births upon this day.

I am the Babe, who treadeth his path of Yesterday.

I am "This Day" to generation of men after generation.

I am he who giveth you stableness for eternity, whether ye be in heaven or upon earth; in the South or in the North, in the West or in the East-and the fear of me is upon you.

I am he who fashioneth with his eye, and who dieth not a second time.

<sup>\*</sup> Another reading is Unneferu.

A moment of mine belongeth to you, but my attributes belong to my own domain.

I am the Unknown one, but the gods of Ruddy Countenance belong to me.

I am the Gladsome one, and no time hath been found, but served to create for me the Heaven and the increase of Earth, and the increase of their offspring.

They sever and join not—they sever my name from all evil things, according to the words which I say unto you.

It is I who rise up and shine forth; strength proceeding from strength (9), the One proceeding from the One.

There is not a day devoid of that which belongeth to it; for ever and for ever (10).

I am Unbu,\* who proceedeth from Nu, and my mother is Nut.

O thou who hast set me in motion (11)! for I was motionless, a mighty link within the close of Yesterday; my present activity is a link within the close of my hand.

I am not known, but I am one who knoweth thee.

I am not to be grasped, but I am one who graspeth thee.

[Oh Dweller in the Egg! Oh Dweller in the Egg!]

I am Horus, Prince of Eternity, a fire before your faces, which inflameth your hearts towards me.

I am master of my throne and I pass onwards. The present time is the path which I have opened, and I have set myself free from all things evil.

I am the golden Cynocephalus, three palms in height, without legs or arms in the Temple of Ptah (12); and my course is the course of the golden Cynocephalus, three palms in height, without legs or arms in the Temple of Ptah.

Let these words be said—Ababak ter-ek (13).

#### NOTES.

This chapter is in itself most interesting, and it is one of the most important as illustrative of Egyptian mythology. It is impossible at present to explain every detail, but the general drift of the chapter is not to be mistaken. And the same drift is to be recognised in the whole course of Egyptian religious literature from the beginning.

<sup>\*</sup> See note I on chapter 28.

The speaker throughout identifies himself with the divinity whose manifestation is the Sun; he is not the Sun of this or that moment but of Yesterday, To-day and of all eternity, the "One proceeding from the One."

- 1. Sutenhenen. The later texts say the "Netherworld."
- 2. The Babe \( \bigcap \left( \bigcap \left( \bigcap \left) \right) \), an appellative applied to the rising Sun. See Brugsch, Rev. II, pl. 71, 3, where this babe is compared to the Lotus coming forth from the great stream \( \bigcap \left( \bigcap \left( \bigcap \left( \bigcap \left) \right) \left( \bigcap \left( \bigcap \left) \right) \left( \bigcap \left( \bigcap \left) \right) \right).

The word signifies that which is "lifted up," "un élève,"

- 3. Serpent Ab-ur  $\[ \] \[\] \[ \] \[\]$
- 4. To soil: is the type of the word in the earlier texts. The late ones have the well known .
- 5. The Link Another appellative of the Sun god, applied to Tmu and Horus in the oldest texts. The notion of is that of concatenation, connecting, combining, fastening, binding, setting in order together, σύνταγμα, σύνταξις, as in concentrate coronam. Hence its occurrence in words signifying 'the vertebral column,' 'a row of teeth,' 'a chain of hills,' 'a body of troops' (σύνταγμα ἰππέων οτ πέζων), or their 'captains,' literary 'composition' composition' composition' composition. See note to Chapter 71.
- 6. The god within the Tamarisk. The rising sun under his various names is frequently represented as being in a tree or bush,

which partly conceals him. This is a mythological way of treating the light cloud or mist which so commonly accompanies the sun's first appearance. Tamarisk is only a provisional translation of  $\bigcirc$ . The god Apuat, who is identical with Osiris, is said in the Pyramid Texts (Unas 107, Teta 66) to come forth from the  $\bigcirc$ .

7. Who connecteth. This I believe to be the sense of the

ל פי @ is a rope or cable (Bonomi, Sarc. II, c, 34), and like the Latin copula or the Semitic ביל, הבל has the sense of tie, bond, connection.\*

When the prince of Tennu (Berlin Pap. 1, line 31) proposed a family alliance to Senchat, he said to him the sa

In the expression  $\sqrt[4]{}$   $\sim$   $\sim$ , nefrit signifies continuously, connectedly, and the sense of until is only completed by the addition of the preposition  $\sim$ .

Instead of \( \times \) 'the Solar orb,' some MSS. read \( \times \), or \( \times \) must be understood as an adjective raised to the comparative degree by the preposition \( \times : "More beautiful [my] splendour (colour, hair or veil) than Yesterday." None of these readings seem very attractive.

8. Here follows the identification of the limbs of the deceased person with those of various gods. There are many similar texts belonging to all the periods of the Egyptian religion. For the Pyramid Texts, see e.g. Unas, line 218 &c., ib. line 570, &c., Pepi I, line 565, &c. Compare the Coffin of Amanu, pl. XXIV, line 11, &c., Naville, Litanie de Râ, p. 96, and Golenischeff, Metternichstele, lines 9-35.

<sup>&</sup>quot; non modo funem, sed et in Alcorano saepe foedus significat." Gesenius, Thesaur in voc. חבל.

- 9. Strength און און, literally a wall or tower, like the מגרל-עז of Ps. XI, 4.
  - 10. , continuously, continuously.
- is addressed. The passage would otherwise be translated, "I have set myself in motion," which would be more consistent with the doctrine contained in this chapter.
- 12. All the more recent copies have \( \bigcap \), the Sanctuary of Ptah at Memphis.
- 13. Âbaba-k ter-ek. This is only one of the readings of a formula which had soon become utterly unintelligible to the copyists. Hieratic copies like Louvre 3079, published by M. de Rougé, B.M. 10,257 (Rollin) and Leyden, T. 16, record several conjectural emendations, to which modern scholars might add others, were they so disposed.

#### CHAPTER XLIII.

Chapter whereby the head of a person is not severed from him in the Netherworld.

I am a Prince, the son of a Prince; a Flame, the Son of a Flame, whose head is restored to him after it hath been cut off.

The head of Osiris is not taken from him, and my head shall not be taken from me.

I raise myself up, I renew myself, and I grow young again.

I am Osiris.

#### NOTE.

An early recension of this chapter is found in the tomb of Horhotep (Miss. Arch. II, p. 159), and an apparent reference on the Coffin of Amamu.

#### CHAPTER XLIV.

Chapter whereby one dieth not a second time.

Let the Cavern of Putrata (1) be opened for me, where the dead fall into the darkness, but the Eye of Horus supporteth me, and Apuat reareth me up. I hide myself among you, O ye Stars that

set not. My front is that of Râ, my face is revealed, according to the words of Thoth; my heart is in its place, my speech is intelligent.

I am Râ himself, I am not to be ignored, I am not to be molested.

Thy father liveth for thee, O Son of Nut! I am thy son Horus, I see thy mysteries, and am crowned as King of the gods. I die not a second time in the Netherworld.

#### NOTE.

1. Putrata or or This name has disappeared in nearly all the MSS. It is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (Pepi I, 332, Merrā 635) as a lake traversed by the glorified personage.

#### CHAPTER XLV.

Chapter whereby one escapeth corruption in the Netherworld.

Here is the Osiris N, motionless, motionless like Osiris; motionless his limbs like Osiris—let them not remain motionless, let them not corrupt. They move not, they stir not: be it done for me as for Osiris. I am Osiris.

#### CHAPTER XLVI.

Chapter whereby he that is living is not destroyed in the Nether-world.

Oh ye recent offspring of Shu, who dawn after dawn is possessor of his diadem at sunrise; ye future generations of men, my springing forth\* is the springing forth of Osiris.

#### NOTE.

This chapter is addressed to the hammenit, who are known from other quarters to be human beings, as the younglings of the god Shu. But the reference is not to men who have yet lived upon the earth. They are spoken of as men of a future generation. Queen Hatshepsu on her obelisk when speaking of them connects them with the period of 120 years, that is as if we

said "men of the next century." Before their appearance upon the earth they circle round the Sun, and the glorified dead hold converse with them (Chapter 124, 6).

The Egyptians, like many other ancient nations, held the doctrine of the preexistence of souls. They held it not like philosophers or poets, but as an article of their popular and traditional creed.

#### CHAPTER XLVII.

Chapter whereby the Seat of a person is not taken from him in the Netherworld.

Chair and Throne of mine, which are coming to me and circling round to me; divine ones!

I am a noble  $S\bar{a}hu$  (1), grant that I may become one of those who follow the great god.

I am the Son of Maāt, and wrong is what I execrate.

I am the Victorious one.

#### NOTE.

# CHAPTERS XLVIII AND XLIX are identical with X and XI respectively.

#### CHAPTER L.

Chapter whereby one cometh not to the divine Block of Execution.

The four (1) fastenings of the hinder part of my head are fastened.

He who is in heaven it was who made firm the fastening for him who was fainting upon his two haunches on that day when the fleece was shorn.

The fastenings of the hinder part of my head were fastened by Sutu and the company of gods in his first triumph. Let there be no disaster. Preserve me safe from him who slew my father.

I am seized of the 'Two Earths.'

The fastenings of the hinder part of my head were fastened by Nu, on the first time of my beholding the Law in virtue of which the gods and their symbols (2) come into existence.

I am the Heedful one, and become the executioner for you, ye great gods (3).

#### NOTES.

The antiquity of the chapter is proved by its occurrence on the second coffin of Mentuhotep; but its condition there is such that no one can read it who is not already familiar with it from other sources. It begins, *Aelteste Texte*, p. 22, line 34, and goes on till the red letters at line 50. The text, in spite of its importance, is very inaccurate.

- I. The four fastenings. The number four is only found in the oldest copies. The later copies have a different text. It is impossible to say what kind of fastening is meant. impossible to say what kind of fastening is meant. impossible to say what kind of fastening is meant. impossible to say what kind of fastening is meant. impossible to say what kind of fastening is meant. It is impossible
- 2. Symbols, or symbolical representations, or symbolical representations,
- 3. The Heedful one one perhaps of the Unas 584, Pepi I, 199 and 667.

#### CHAPTER LI.

Chapter whereby one goeth not headlong in the Netherworld.

I execrate, I execrate, I do not eat it.

That which I execrate is dirt. I eat it not, that I may appease my Genius.

Let me not fall into it; let me not approach it with my hands, let me not tread upon it with my sandals.

#### NOTE.

The Chapters numbered 51 and 52 are not found in the most ancient papyri, but the substance of them and their formulas are met with on the ancient coffins\* and in the Pyramid texts. See, for instance, Unas 189, Teta 68, with M. Maspero's note on the latter text. I do not, however, believe, as M. Maspero does, that these texts convey the idea "so frequent [!] among half-civilised peoples, of another life in which the deceased will have nothing to eat and drink but excremental matter." That the specific which I translate 'dirt' and \( \sum\_{\infty} \) 'lye' are of this nature is quite certain, but they are objects of abhorrence to the Sun-god, like the dead rat and the putrid cat in chapter 33, because he is a consuming fire, and "what-deceased who is identified with the Sun-god in these texts should express his execration of such offensive matter. He is not afraid of being limited to this food, his fear springs from the opposite extreme.

#### CHAPTER LII.

Chapter whereby one eateth not dirt in the Netherworld.

I execrate, I execrate, I do not eat it.

That which I execrate is dirt. I eat it not, that I may appease my Genius (1).

Let it not fall upon me; let me not approach it with my hands, let me not tread upon it with my sandals.

Henceforth let me live upon corn (2) in your presence, ye gods, and let there come one who bringeth to me that I may feed from those seven loaves which he hath brought for Horus and upon the loaves for Thoth.

"What willst thou eat?" say the gods to him.

Let me eat under the Sycamore of Hathor the Sovereign, and let my turn be given to me among those who rest there.

<sup>\*</sup> There is a chapter in Lepsius, Älteste Texte, p. 34, with the same title as chapter 51, but the contents are different.

And let me manage the fields in Tattu and prosper in Heliopolis.

And let me feed upon the bread of the white corn and upon the beer of the red barley.

And let the forms (3) of my father and of my mother be granted to me; the gate-keepers of the stream.

Let room be thrown open for me, let the path be made, and let me sit in any place that I desire.

#### Notes.

- (1) Here, as in the corresponding passage in the preceding chapter and in several other places, the later texts often read , which is a serious error.
- (2) The unintelligible \( \sum\_{\text{o}} \sum\_{\text{o}} \sum\_{\text{o}} \) of the later texts should be corrected to \( \sum\_{\text{o}} \sum\_{\text{o}} \sum\_{\text{o}} \) (\( \text{Alteste} \) \( \text{Texte} \) 42, lines 50, 54 and 67). The error may be traced to a form of the word with the prothetic \( \begin{align\*} \left. \]
  There are several words varying in their applications which may be traced to the same origin.

אביב 'spica' a point, hence an ear of corn, and 'spiculum,' an arrow, a javelin, are very clearly connected, and the notion in both is, as in the Hebrew אביב, that of 'shooting forth,' proferre, protendere.

to do with the Coptic wpw of Leviticus xv, 19. It refers to the pointed weapons presented by the beasts.

is 'put forward' in the way of speech, and may be command or prayer, or simple statement.

the builder's line is something 'stretched out' prolatum, protensum.

And with reference to walls, buildings, and the like, may always be translated by proferre, protendere.

(3) The forms, A hard not A hard, as in the Turin Todtenbuch. There is a most interesting text but unfortunately

imperfect on the Leyden Coffin M.3 (M. Pl. 13). The deceased is told that on arriving at the mysterious gate he will find his father and his mother, the middle sign is almost entirely effaced. This would mean 'at the resurrection of thy body.'

#### CHAPTER LIII A.

Chapter whereby one is not made to eat dirt or to drink lye.

I am the sharp-horned Bull, who regulatesh the sky, the Lord of the risings in heaven; the great Giver of Light, who issueth from Flame; the Bond of Time, richly supplied with years; the god in Lion form, to whom is given a march of Glory.

I execrate, I execrate, I do not eat that which my Genius execrateth.

Let it not enter into my stomach, let it not approach to my hands, let me not tread upon it with my sandals.

Let me not drink lye, let me not advance headlong in the Netherworld.

I am the possessor of bread in Heliopolis, who hath bread in Heaven with Râ, and bread upon earth with Seb.

It is the Sektit boat which hath brought it from the house of the great god in Heliopolis.

I am gladdened in my very entrails, and am associated with the divine mariners, who circle round to the East of Heaven. I eat as they eat, and I feed upon what they feed. I eat bread from the house of the Lord of offerings.

#### CHAPTER LIII B.

#### Whereby one eateth not dirt.

I execrate, I execrate! I do not eat it. Dirt is what I execrate; I do not eat it.

I execrate lye, I do not drink it.

Let me not approach it with my fingers, let me not tread up n it with my sandals.

Seb, the father of Osiris, hath ordained that I should not eat dirt or drink lye, but my father hath four times said that I should eat of the red corn.

There are seven loaves in Heaven at Heliopolis with Râ, and there are seven loaves upon earth with Seb, and there are seven loaves with Osiris.

It is the god of the Sektit galley, and of the Mââtit galley, who hath brought them to me at Heliopolis.

I shout with joy, and my Genius shouteth with joy, because I am in Heliopolis, and I live in excellent condition before Râ, on the day when bread is presented in Heliopolis.

#### NOTE.

Chapter 53 A is taken from the papyri of the older period, 53 B is a still older text from the Coffin of Horhotep.

#### CHAPTER LIV.

Chapter whereby air is given in the Netherworld.

I am the god in Lion-form (1), the Egg in the Great Cackler, and I watch over that great Egg which Seb hath parted from the earth (2); my Life is the Life thereof, and the same is true of my advance in life and of my breathing of the air.

I am the god who keepeth opposition in equipoise (3) as his Egg circleth round. For me dawneth (4) the moment of the most mighty one, Sut.

O ye gods who are pleasant through the alternate successions of the Earth, who preside over sustenance and who live in the Blue (5), do ye keep watch over him who abideth in his Nest; the Infant god who cometh forth towards you.

#### NOTES.

The text here followed is that of Pa which is much preferable to that of Ani. There is a far older text, that of Horhotep, line 344 and sqq., but it is too inaccurate to serve as the basis of a translation. It is however very valuable for other purposes.

(1) The god in Lion form. These words are not in Horhotep, the chapter beginning as in later texts "Oh Tmu let there come to me the air which is in thy nostrils." The word for air is written compared (lines 344 and 346) as in other places.

- (2) It is a mistake to speak of a mundane egg, of which there is no trace in Egyptian mythology. Seb, the great cackling goose, lays the golden egg, which is the Sun; but does not mean 'lay upon the earth,' but 'divide, separate from the earth.' The egg springs from the back of Seb.
- (3) Who keepeth opposition in equipoise. This sense may be inferred from Pa, but is made very clear by the forces is maintained by the revolution of the Sun.
- (4) Dawneth, J. Horhotep; whose text breaks off without a word on Sutu.
- (5) The Blue, "lapis lazuli.' The French lazur exactly corresponds to the Egyptian, for the word azure is derived from lazulum.

Ancients and modern differ greatly, as is well known, from each other as to the impressions derived from colour. It seems strange to read in the tale of the *Destruction of Mankind* that the 'hair of Râ was of real *chesbet*,' that is 'dark blue.' But we have an exact parallel to this in Greek. Kiavos is lapis lazuli in Theophrastus, who even mentions the artificial lapis made in Egypt. But in the Homeric poems the hair of Hector (II., 22, 401), and the hair and beard of Odysseus (Od., 16, 176), as well as the eyebrows of Zeus (II., 1, 528; 17, 209) are described as  $\kappa v \acute{a} v \epsilon a \iota$ .

#### CHAPTER LV.

Another chapter whereby air is given.

I am the Jackal of jackals, I am Shu, who convey breezes, in presence of the Glorious one (1), to the ends of the sky, to the ends of the earth, to the ends of the filaments of Cloud (2).

I give air to those Younglings as I open my mouth and gaze with my two eyes.

#### NOTES.

- 1. The Glorious one. This is the most usual reading. Pa has Râ.
- 2. Filaments of Cloud. Cloud is the sense, not the translation of many file. The name of some tree or shrub which has not been identified. The filaments or file, which are among its characteristics, point in this context to the long fibrous forms presented by the cirrus cloud.

#### CHAPTER LVI.

#### Another chapter of breathing.

Oh Tmu! give me that delicious air which is in thine own nostrils.

It is I who cherish that great station which is in the heart of Heracleopolis.

I watch over that egg of the Great Cackler, my strength is the strength thereof, my life is the life thereof, and my breath is the breath thereof.



#### GISH-DUBARRA, GIBIL-GAMISH, NIMROD.

#### By PROF. DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.

In Vol. VIII of these *Proceedings* (1885-6), p. 119 f., I tried to prove, that the hero *Namraşît* of 4 Rawl. 2, 21*h*, is the same deity as — Gish-du-bar, inasmuch as the Lord of both is the Moon-god (Sin or Lugal-banda) and as the ideograph of Namraşit, — EXT EXT., is to be read ilu Gis-du-bar-ra, like — I EXT. Ilu Gish-du-bar, with an often occurring kind of interchange of ideographs so common in other ideographical systems of writing, as in Chinese and Egyptian.

To-day I am in a position to bring definite evidence for this statement, and in addition to it I shall give in this paper the proofs for the following facts and identifications:

- 1. **YYYEY** is not to be read Gish-gi-mash, as Prof. Jensen asserts (Zeitschr. f. Assyr., VI, p. 340), but Gish-du-barra.
- 2. Gilgamish (Γίλγαμος of Aelian), which Mr. Pinches found in a lexicographical tablet as an explanation of Gish-du-bar, is originally Gibilgamish, and a synonym of Gishdubar. Algamîshu "fire-stone," "flint" (Hebr. מַלְבָּרִשׁ) and ilmîshu (Hebr. מַלְבָּרִשׁ) are only variants of the same name.
- 3. Gishdubar is an old hero of fire; his place on the sky is in the region south of the ram or Aries, at the entrance to Hades according to the opinion of the Babylonians, his special star being the kakkab (gish-bar-birra) = Mira ceti, or kakkab (sig-gibil-sagga). He is, like Nergal (who is sometimes also called "god of fire," and so also and and Nusku), the leader and lord of the seven evil demons (Igigi or Anunnaki).
- 4. The element \(\big|\frac{\finte}{\fint}}}}}}}{\frac}}}}}}}}}{\frac{\finn}{\finn}}}}}{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\
- 5. The Semitic reading of the Sumerian Gishdubarra or Gibilgamish was Namrasit, and beside it Nârûdu (out of Namra-uddu, Namruddu, Nawruddu). The Hebrew Nimrod has of course its

nearest prototype in this *Namrûdu*. The well-known *Uddu-shu-namir* of Istar's descent to Hades is only a variant of this Semitic translation of Gishdubarra.

These new results and discoveries are the best answer to Prof. Jensen's inconsiderate and hasty assertion (Kosmologie der Babvlonier, p. 105): "Gegen die Hommel'sche Ansicht, dass in Namrasit der famose Nimrod zu suchen sei, ist eine Polemik überflüssig; dagegen spricht eben alles, Grammatik, Lexikon, Zusammenhang, etc."

Ad. 1. We have in Gudea E. 5, 22; 7, 13; G. 4, 16; 6, 11, amongst the offerings to the goddess Ba'u:

which I translate: forty receptacles for writing-utensils (dib-sar), seven boxes (or jars) for fire-lighting (gih gihil-bar,  $\nearrow$  being here the sign  $\nearrow$  bar, not  $\nearrow$  mash!) and one vessel for wooden staffs.

Since [ ] [ [sish-gü-billa]] = uturtu is a synonym of kis-kibirru (for gish-gibil), "wood for lighting," and of kuddu (comp. Arab. kaddâḥ, "fire-steel"), and kuddu is also the Semitic translation of the ideograph [ [YYE] (see below, sub. No. 4), it is clear, that gibil-bar is a formation quite parallel with gish-du-bar, the element [ having in both cases the same meaning.

Ad. 2. In 5 Rawl. 30, 6ef, we read:

This passage shows that we have also in K. 4359 (Jensen, Kosmol., p. 386) to restore

Gish-du-bar-ra = Gi-bil (not ne /)-[ga-mish]

and that Mr. Pinches' Gi-il-ga-mish (with  $\longrightarrow$  for mish) was originally Gibil-gamish; lagga VII is asharid sibitti, i.e., the chief of the seven evil demons. The latter was probably the motive for Gudea to offer in four cases seven fire-utensils to the goddess Ba'u.

In a hymn to Nindar in Neo-Babylonian writing (Berlin Museum, V.A., Th., 251, published by Hugo Winckler in his *Keiischrifttexte*, p. 60 f.), it is said of this god (obv. 18-9):

ur-sag tag (stone) ud-ţ-kab ba-gub karradu ana al-ga-mi-shi iz-ziz-ma

i.e., "the valiant hero (Nindar) entered upon the rock-crystal" (comp. "And in the same hymn obv. 28-9:

tak (stone) ud-gàl-kab sa-dug-ud-da nin-gurru al-ga-mí-shu sattuk ûmi ina nashî

i.e., "if he takes the algamishu as a daily offering (in his hands)." The ideograph, in which is evidently spoken gal, shows that the original form was gal-gamish, corresponding to the syllable al, and kab to the second part of the word, gamishu (Sumerian root gab or gam). The same ideograph occurs in K. 4378, IV, 6-16 (Brünnow, p. 336) with the Semitic translation kutû, "vessel;" but the original meaning is probably "daily fire-lighting," ud-gal-gab (var. gal-gamish or gal-gabish, in which the ending -ish is either like Sumerian amash, "hurdle," from am, "bull," or perhaps an Elamitic case-ending as in Kassitic names of Babylonian kings).

No doubt that we here have the same word as in Gil-gamish, because all these names (Gish-dubarra, Gibil-gamish, comp. gibilbarra, in the Gudea inscription) meant originally the instrument for striking fire with the rock-crystal or flint; the second element kab (gab) occurs again in another synonym of "wood for lighting" (or perhaps better "wooden handle of the fire-stone"), uturtu, viz., FY - YII 4 - Y &, gish-gab-gibir (Brünnow, 2685; comp. Brünnow, No. 1179: → ➡ ♥ III , where ➡ ♥ is a mere gloss to great "door-keeper" of Hades (4 Rawl. 1, 49, 50 b). But also the well-known word ilmîshu "rock-crystal" (Guyard and Delitzsch: "diamond"), Hebr. הלמים (Zimmern, Bussps., p. 104), whose ideagraph sud-agga, "light-making," is also translated by nûru, "light," suggests a meaning like "fire-stone," of course a very precious kind of it, even the rock-crystal, and is therefore only a shortening of our algamîshu. The corresponding old Hebrew word is hallamish (for ghalgamish), whilst elgabish of Ezekiel is a later Babylonian loan-word.

Ad. 3. In 2 Rawl. 62, 69a, du-bar is paraphrased by shaptu shaptitam, "a judge of the earthly (things)," so A. Jeremias in his valuable book "Izdubar-Nimrod," or better "judge of Sheol or Hades;" compare K. 3474, Z.A., 4, 1 ff (in a Sun-hymn):

- (16.) ilâti sha dadmi kali-shina tushtêshir.

"the Hades thou (O Sun-god) hast entrusted to the god A. (the lord) of the Anunnaki, whilst thou thyself governest all the habitations above," and the prayer to Gishdubarra, published by Haupt and translated by  $\Lambda$ . Jeremias (loco citato, p. 3 f), where Gishdubar is called "judge of the Anunnaki," "lord of below" (ki-ta, i.e., shaplâti), to whom the Sun god has entrusted (delivered) sceptre and decision" (shibṭa u purussâ katukka ipkid). The word iṣ-bar (var. ash-bar, Sem. purussâ), "decision," is a Neo-Sumerian pronunciation of gish-bar, "fire;" comp. bil-sig-gi = shîmtu, "destiny," (5 Rawl. 39, 31 e), with bil-sigga = kamû, "to burn" (2 Rawl. 34, 70), also (bil) gi (5 R. 42, 67 e) = shiptu, "judgment (from shapâtu), there in alliteration with shibu and shibtu ("old man," "matron"). In 4 Rawl. 49 (56), 37a, we read:—

"Earth, earth, earth (three times, in correspondence with the before-named three night watches!), Gishdubar is the lord of your ban,

what (mimmû) you do, I know,

but what I do, you don't know;

what my enchantresses do, has no unbinder, loosener, deliverer."

In the same text (the first tablet of the series  $makl\hat{u}$ , "burning!") we read prayers to Nusku (35–46b) and to the fire god (>>  $\int Gish-bar$ ). The latter is addressed in almost the same manner as Gishdubar in the prayer translated by A. Jeremias; comp. 26b, "I pray to thee like to the Sun-god, the judge" (because he is the sub-judge of the sun, this judge of the day, *i.e.*, is the judge of the night and of Hades), or 27b, "judge my judgment, decide my decision."

Hence it is clear that Gishdubar is the same judge of Hades as Nabû-Nusku (comp. the planet *Dun-ghad-ud-du* and his name *da-wi-nu*, "judge," and *udda al-kud*, "judging day," *i.e.*, "day of judgment"), and as the fire star \(\beta\)\ \\ \frac{\sqrt{\gamma}}{\sqrt{\gamma}}\), 5 R. 46, 14 (=ilu Nusku), who follows immediately the kakkab \(Apil-\beta\)\[\begin{align\*}{ccc} Apil-\beta\]\[\begin{align\*}{ccc} Apil-\beta\]\[\begin{align\*}{ccc} Apil-\beta\]\[\begin{align\*}{ccc} Apil-\beta\]\[\begin{align\*}{ccc} Apil-\beta\]\[\begin{align\*}{ccc} Apil-\beta\]\[\begin{align\*}{ccc} Apil-\beta\]\[\begin{align\*}{ccc} Apil-\beta\]\[\begin{align\*}{ccc} Apil-\beta\]\[\begin{align\*}{cccc} Apil-\beta\]\[\begin{align\*}{cccc} Apil-\beta\]\[

"judge," comp. 4 R. 32, 47, ilu Sá-kud, son of the goddess Belit-Igurra or → Magh; ilu \ ∃ \ \ \ Synchr. Hist., 4, 8, or ilu = FYYY alu Malaki, 3 R. 38, 18, Malak here being Hades or Sheol as "place of decision," comp. Nusku mâlik ilâni rabûti (4 R. 49, 56b of the 2nd ed.); ilu Tur-zi = Dumu-zi, Tammuz, i.e., Nergal as the sun below the horizon, the winter sun, night sun, or, as the Babylonians say, southern sun, -> Y -> Y -> Y yy JEYY) or as the star (Sig-bil-sag, which is called, too, "judge," 3 R. 57, No. 6 (see below). In line 15 of 5 R. 46, these two stars (kakkab Sà-kud and k. Nusku) are paraphrased: "the station-giving (ecliptical) stars of Igurra (heavenly ocean), Sin and Nergal," whilst the pole stars (Anu and Bel) are called (line 16) "the sitting (immoveable) stars of Igurra." See my paper on the Astr. der alten Chaldäer, III, "Ausland," 1892. In the same paper I proved that the beginning and end of "the way of Ea" (from Sagittarius to Aries) is marked by the two bar birra, "whose fire is shining") or \ Sig-bilsagga, in which word bil also means "fire") in Aries (=Mira Ceti, amongst the seven stars of the Cetus, south of Aries). Here bi, or god of the seven evil demons, the Igigi or Anunnaki), of Sin and of Nusku, and of the main entrance to Hades (the other is ka-sil-sigga, "mouth of the street of pain," i.e., the "way of Ea" leading to Hades, in Sagittarius), is heavenly place of our firehero Gishdubar, and therefore the first canto of the Gishdubar epic bears his name as the station of Aries, just as the second bears the name of Eabanî as the station of Taurus.

In a bilingual incantation (4 R. i, 60 b ff) the evil works of the seven bad demons are enumerated; then the text runs thus:—

before Nergal, the valiant hero of Bel, they walk.

The name of Heaven, the name of Earth recite (or conjure)!

The name of Sin (Moon god), the lord of 
-ra (Semitic, Namra-sît) conjure;

The name of the god Sig-sagga, the leader into the "street of pain" (see above) conjure!

<sup>\*</sup> E is originally only a so called  $gun\hat{u}$  of E (du, tum), and indeed in 2 R. 47, 18 and 21ef we still find the phonetical value tum; in mash-kim = rabisu, E we have the other value of E (gin, kin, kim), whilst is a double E, mash. Afterwards E was confounded with E is a double E, mash. Afterwards E was confounded with E is a double E, E was similar to it in Old Babylonian writing.

In the same text, only in the foregoing incantation (4 R. 1, 36 ff) we find the following gods conjured:  $\rightarrow \bigvee$  (Ba'u), mother of Ea (wife of Bel);  $\rightarrow \bigvee$  ghanna  $= \rightarrow \bigvee$   $\bigvee$   $\rightarrow$  R. 52 = 59, 5, immediately after Nergal and Laz!), daughter of Ea (and sister and wife of Nergal, the Egyptian Nephthys);  $\rightarrow \bigvee$  Nin- $\rightarrow$  Nin- $\rightarrow$  Nin- $\rightarrow$  Nin- $\rightarrow$  Nin-gish Sig-bil-sag, governor of the earth (i.e., Hades) and  $\rightarrow$  Nin-gish zid-da (otherwise god of the fire month Ab; comp. Sarg. Cyl., line 61 and 4 R. 33); then follow the "seven doors" of Hades, the "seven door-bars" of Hades, and the above-named  $\rightarrow$  Bil-gab (or Gibil-gab).

In an astronomical text, 3 R. 57, No. 6, 48, the same Sig-bil-sagga is named sa-kud (written di-kud), "judge," and in a lexicographical list, 2 R. 57, 79cd he is identified with the "southern sun, the god Nindar" (meaning here Nergal, as the sun below the horizon). In the list of ships of the gods, K. 4378, col. 5, 20 ff (Delitzsch, Lesestücke, 3rd. ed., p. 88 f.) we have the order: Nin-girsu (Nergal), Sin, Sig-bil-sagga.

Whilst in the Gishdubar-epic Eabanî addresses his prayers to the Sun god (so also Gishdubar, if accompanied by Eabanî), Gishdubar himself (especially if he is alone) prays to Sin (e.g., in tablet 9th) or to his special god Lugal-banda (and his wife Nin-shunna, comp. Gudea, Cyl. B, 23, 19 f., communicated by Scheil, Rec., 12, 208, note 2: Nin-gish-zidda tur-sag anna-kam, dingir ama-zu >> Nin-(EX) -na, i.e., "O Fire-god, son of Anu, the goddess thy mother is Nin-shunna"), to whom also Sin-gashid, like Gishdubar king of Uruk, prays as to his mother. The original adoration place of this Lugal-banda (written Lugal-tur-da and only another form of the god Sin) was the town Marad (as Kutha that of Nergal; but also in Kutha was a temple of Sîn, this stereotyped companion of Nergal, as in Marad again was a temple of Nergal; compare my Geschichte p. 227 and 401 f.). If a third god is associated with Sin and Nergal, as in the above-translated incantation (where Sig-sagga is evidently Nergal himself, comp. 4 R. 26, No. 1, 8), he cannot be another god than the old fire hero Gish-dubar, whose lord or special god is the Moon-god Sin, and whose name Namra-sit ("whose rising is bright") is so well-fitting for the god of fire. Probably, too, in the hymn to the Moon god, 4 R. 9, rev., 27-8, the name of Namra-sît or Gish-dubar (or Sig-bil-sagga) was written, since in the line before

the wife of the Moon god, and in the following lines the seven Igigi and Anunnaki are named; the god and leader of these seven gods was, indeed, Gibil-gamish (see above) or the god Gibil (4 R. 15, No. 1)! Comp. also 49, 51 a of the same hymn to Sin (4 R. 9):—

Sumer.: ||\( \rightarrow \) (rain) \( \rightarrow \) || Mu-bar-ra (fire-god) shu mundab-\( \frac{6}{3}a-za. \) |
Semit.: \( tamih \rightarrow \) || Gir-ri (god of lightning) \( u \) \( m\hat{e} \) (water).\( \frac{\*}{3}a - za. \)

with 3 R. 66, 21 b obv. ( Gibil-nim-gir, 10 f, rev. Gibil-bir-ku), where we find Sin again connected with the god of fire or lightning, whilst the other, the rain, is not personified, which is remarkable in this case.

By all these facts I think it is proved that the servant of Sin, the god  $\longrightarrow$  X -ra, is not only readable Gish-du-bar-ra, but must be read so, because he is really no other deity than the Gish-dubar of the epic, the Gibil-gamish, Gibil-gab, Du-gab (Atu-gabshu), of the lists, the old fire hero of the Babylonians.

Ad. 4. Also that  $\nearrow$  YYYEY in the name Gish-du-bar is a synonym of gish-bar, "fire," can be proved by the lexicographical lists. In Brünnow, No. 11,909, we have for it the translation kuddu, in No. 11,908 for YYEY alone kûdu, for FY YYEY & ihzu (setting, of jewels; handle, see above, sub 2); another translation of it is pashu, which seems to mean something like torch or firebrand in 4 R. 50 (57), 41 b, Sin . . . . likattâ pâsha-ki, "may Sin extinguish thy torch." Now we have an ideograph ► \( \infty \), gish-kur, which is translated (Br. 10,186 and 10,189) by kis-kibirru (see above) and by kuddu; the same kis-kibirru (wood for making fire, or perhaps better, wooden handle of the fire-stone) is a synonym of the words uturtu, misû, misirru and mirdîtu (Ethiopic beltît, "fire-stone," as a Babylonian loan-word?), all these corresponding to the Sum. ► (comp. the Gudea-words above) -sí-ki-ir. With the first of these synonyms, (lit., "wood for fire"), 5 R. 26, 46! Further variants of \ gú-sí-ki-ir are = | - | (gab)-gibir (see above) and = | (gish-gubil), both being translated with the same uturtu, whilst another synonym of firestone-handle seems to be \ a-tu-gab-shu (Semiticised from adun-gabish), translated by sarbatu (comp. Hebr. 272, "to burn"). In K. 2866, 13 (Strassmaier, No. 8381) we have the following order of gods: Nergal, Ishum (i.e., Sig-sagga, in the Sagittarius), Shu-sil-la

<sup>\*</sup> I.e., holding in his hands rain and lightning.

(EY > Y), his wife (comp. K. 2096, Ishum and Shu-sil-la as thetwo gods of Tigris and Euphrates on the sky, i.e., the stars Anunit and Sinuntu of 5 R. 46, between Antares and Sagittarius), Lugalgish-a-tu-gab-shu and (his wife) Mâmîtu ("ban"), which would be in the common nomenclature Nergal (or his twin brother Sin), Sig-sagga and Gish-dubarra (or Gibil-gamish).

By these instances it is clear that  $\not\models \not\mid \not\sqsubseteq \not\downarrow \not\sqsubseteq \not\downarrow \mid means$  nothing else than uturtu, and that  $\not kuddu$  or  $\not kudu$  comes from the root  $\not kdh$  (comp. Arabic  $\not kaddah$ , "fire-stone"). As for ihzu, it is not impossible that the Ethiopic  $\not ez \not eh$ , "fire-stone," is only a Babylonian loan-word from it, like  $\not belt t$  from mird tu.

Ad. 5. In No. 3 we saw that >> \ Gish-du-bar-ra (here written - Est - ra) was translated by the Semitic namra-sît (i.e., sîtushu namir), "whose rising is shining or brilliant" (comp. the Uddu, shu-namir of Ishtar's descent into Hades, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, p. 394, note 4). Here we have two possibilities: barra can be namâru (comp. 4-ra, 4-ga, 4-du, i.e., barra, lagga and uddu or ghuddu, all three being translated in the lists by namâru), but also *şîtu* (comp.  $^{4}$ -ra, i.e., barra or redupl. babbarra = aşû, "to rise," and ud- $du = as\hat{u}$ , whose infin. is  $s\hat{i}tu$ ). The most probable is, to see the element namra in barra, and then of course sîtu in gish-du. This sîtu may also mean, "coming out of the fire-stone," said of the sparkle. As we learn by the name *Uddu-shu-namir* (to which Dr. Jeremias compared uddu, "light," in Sen. Kuy. 4, 6, kîma ûmi uddî, "like the bright day"), uddû (Sum. loan-word from ud-du, "to come out," "to rise") must have been a synonym of sîtu in Namrasît; so we would get a hypothetical Namra-uddû.

In 5 R. 46, 43, the star Ud-ka-gab-a, "beast opening the mouth," is translated by  $\hat{u}mu$  na'ri, elsewhere by nimru, "leopard" (out of namiru, nimru; another shortening is namru); here we see that in the vulgar language namru was spoken nearly like na'ru,  $n\hat{a}$ ru. Now we have really a deity, called  $N\hat{a}$ r $\hat{u}$ du, occupying the same place in the sky as the star of the fire-hero Gish-dubar! That the name is Semitic, not Sumerian, we see by the fact that the genitive is  $N\hat{a}$ r $\hat{u}$ di (so 4 R. 21, 23) and the Accusative  $N\hat{a}$ r $\hat{u}$ da (K. 2866, ii). The form of this word is masculine, not feminine (otherwise we would expect Naruttu), and so we find the name in K. 2866, ii (S. A. Smith, Miscell. Texts): Gi-bil,  $\longrightarrow V$  (Fergal), Futu (Marduk),  $\longrightarrow V$ 1-V11-bi,  $\longrightarrow V$ 1 V11-va-gal of V11-ra-gal (V11-ra-gal of V11-ra-gal,

i.e., Nergal again),  $\rightarrow A$ -ri-a, Nindar, Nin-girsu, Ba-u u Gu-la  $(=l\hat{u} t \hat{a} m \hat{a} t a n \hat{s} - s u n u)$ , or something similar), because the names of the goddesses follow, as it is clear, at the end. But in another place, viz., 4 R. 21, No. 1, 23, we read:—

alan -- \ Lugal-girra gab-ri nu tug-a i-sar-da gub-ba-zu şalam -- \ \ Y sha mahira la ishû ina rikis bîti ulziz alan -- \ Na-ru-di nin dingir-gal-gal-i-nî şalam -- \ Na-ru-di ahat ilâni rabûti ki-ta gish-ná-ta gub-ba-zu == ina shaplân irshi ulziz

i.e., "the image of the god Lugal-girra (comp. the variant in line 22: Shid-lamta-uddu, i.e., Nergal) who has no rival, he (may) fasten it on the framework of the house; the image of the god Nin-dingir-galgal-ini (Lord of the seven great gods), he (may) fasten it on the foot of the bed (of the sick);" for the original ran probably thus:—

as we can still suggest from the commentary to a parallel text, which runs (5 R. 21, 28-30):—

where we have of course to read Nin ( ) for Dam ( ). A later copyist of 4 R. 21 transposed falsely the Semitic translation \( \) Na-ru-di into the Sumerian line, and consequently added the false translation, "sister of the great gods" (ahat ilani rabûti), nin being in god-names Lord or Lady, but as a separate noun, also "sister" instead of "lady." This is the origin of Nârûdu as a name for a goddess,\* to which we have some analogies in the Babylonian texts, e.g., Nin- \( \) (Nergal) and Nin-dâr-anna (Venus, comp. \( \) (\( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) Da-mu, masc., 4 R. 19, 5b (elsewhere fem.), or \( \) \(

<sup>\*</sup> Instead of a god.



# NOTES ON EGYPTIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.\* By F. L. Griffith, F.S.A.

Fully one half of this supplement is due to the author of "Inductive Metrology," and of "The Pyramids of Gizeh," for he has given me permission to use the metrological material which he discovered at Tell el-Amarna, and has added to this a sheet of brief but valuable criticisms upon my previous essay.

#### SECTION I.—MEASURES OF LENGTH.

Quasi-subdivisions of the cubit.

The remen is the side of a square of which the royal cubit is the diagonal, and

The standard digit is  $\frac{1}{20}$  of this remen.

"The cubit and digit have no integral relation one to the other; the equation of 28 digits with the cubit being certainly inexact, and merely adopted to avoid fractions: the digit when used independently is not  $=\frac{1}{28}$  of the cubit, but is shorter, 28 making only 20·3 inches. But a square cubit of 20·62 inches would have a diagonal of 20 digits of '729 inch (such being the mean values of the best monumental instances of digits and cubits respectively in the Ancient Empire), and this perhaps indicates their true relationship since the mathematical relations that exist between squares and their diagonals were intentionally introduced by the architect into the dimensions of the Great Pyramid."

Such is the substance of Mr. Petrie's argument on the subject in his "Pyramids of Gizeh."†

Now, Lepsius placed the remen on the cubit rods at 20 digits. The position of the sign on the various examples is terribly vague; but, so far as I am aware, no one has since ventured to dispute the identity of the remen with the Greek  $\pi \nu \gamma \dot{\omega} \nu$  of 20 digits, however much they may have desired further proof.

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from Vol. XIV, p. 450.

<sup>†</sup> First edition, pp. 180-1; compare "Inductive Metrology," p. 47 ff.

Therefore, when Mr. Petrie's formula is applied, Lepsius' remen of 20 digits, squared, should have the cubit for its diagonal.



Further, in measures of area, remen is the name of the half arura of 100 square cubits. If we assume, as I think we fairly may,\* that the word remen was given to this superficial measure because it was the square of 100 of the linear remen of the cubit rods, the whole argument is at once clinched by the mathematically correct agreement of the results, as follows:—

arura : remen :: 2 : I i.e. (100 cubits)<sup>2</sup> : (100 remen)<sup>2</sup> :: 2 : I  $\therefore$  cubit<sup>2</sup> : remen<sup>2</sup> :: 2 : I

... The cubit is the diagonal of the square remen.

This coincidence of results from three probable hypotheses, two of which are absolutely independent of each other, shows that the assumptions are correct:—

- (1) That the standard digit is to be fixed at '729 inch when the cubit is at 20.62 inches.
- (2) That the remen of the cubit rods is to be fixed at 20 of these real digits, or at 14.58 inches.
- (3) That the half *arura* is named *remen* owing to its being a square of 100 *remen* of the cubit rods (while the *arura* itself is a square of 100 cubits).

Also, it is clear from the relation of cubit to remen that the arura is a square of 100 royal cubits, and that it is the royal cubit and no other that forms the basis of the system of land measurement.

It will be well to remind the reader that the word *remen* in metrology is capable of three meanings:—

- (1) Linear measure of 20 digits = 5 palms.
- (2) Superficial measure of a square of 100 remen (No. 1) or rather a rectangle of half the arura, derived from the last.
- (3) Linear measure of 50 cubits, derived from the last, being the length of the oblong remen (No. 2) in the side of the arura.

<sup>\*</sup> And as I have already done, Proceedings, XIV, p. 417.

ITINERARY MEASURES.—The atru, the ar, and the schoenus.

In the XVIIIth dynasty the *atru* is found as a multiple of the *khet*, etc. Its value has not yet been ascertained; it appears to lie between 3,300 and 3,600 cubits.

The Ptolemaic and Roman *ar*, called by the Greeks *schoenus*, is of uncertain value. It was probably not less than three times as long as the *atru*,\* although its name is but a later form of the same word.

The standard (?) *schoenus* of 12,000 cubits, mentioned by an Alexandrine metrologist, is found marked upon a road of unknown date† (Ptolemaic or Roman?).

With regard to the *ar* and the *schoenus*, the above statements are sufficient, but the new material for the *atru* must be published and discussed.

The stelæ of Tell el-Amarna record that, as fixed by Akhuenaten

"Akhut-aten, from the south stela to the north stela, when measured from stela to stela on the eastern hill of Akhut-aten, amounts to 6 atru, [1 khet(?)], 1 remen, 4 khet, 4 cubits."

and further that:

"likewise on the western hill from stela to stela it is 6 atru [1 khet (?)], 1 remen, \( \frac{1}{4} \) khet, 4 cubits."

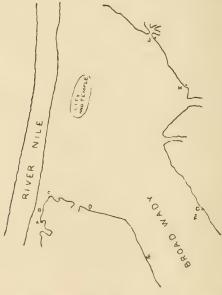
\* The evidence of the classical authors for the schoenus (see Hultsch), as well as that of the Ptolemaic texts for the ar (see Proceedings, XIV, p. 409), indicate a highly variable measure, from 30 to 120 stades in length; it is possible that the differences may be due to mistakes of ancients and moderns; but compare the vague league called malakeh in modern Egypt and Nubia, and the explanation by St. Jerome quoted in Hultsch, of  $\sigma \chi o v o c funiculum$  as a stage in towing vessels on the Nile.

+ From Memphis to the Fayûm, see Petrie, "Season in Egypt," Pl. XXVI.

This text, dating from the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, apart from its historical importance, is of great value for Egyptian metrology. For the first time it gives an early hieroglyphic notation of the *khet* measures: for the first time it associates the *atru* with the *khet*, etc., treating it as one of a series and as a measure of fixed length: and further it affords a hope of determining the value of this standard *atru*.

On the Eastern and Western hills of Akhutaten exist a large number of stelæ\* nearly all of which show fragments of one and the same text.†

The Eastern hill is the one that was most closely examined by Mr. Petrie, who detected upon it remains of no less than nine rock tablets. On his map‡ the northernmost J is exactly  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles from



- \* From Mr. Petrie's notes of these, the vague copies published by Prisse, and a MS. copy by Wilkinson of the Tûneh stela, I have been able to complete the text of the cast that was exhibited by Mr. Petrie at Oxford Mansion, almost to the last word. The short extract above is from this restored text.
- † According to the inscription, Akhutaten extended from cliff to cliff across the Nile valley, and it mentions only three boundary steke, South, Central, and North, on each side; but supplementary steke were rendered necessary by the Wadys which interrupt the Eastern and Western cliffs.
- ‡ The sketch published herewith is intended only to show in a general way the positions of the stelæ and city on the East bank.

[1893.

each of two at the extreme south, A and E, which owing to a deep bay in the hills are at equal distances from the first in spite of being themselves  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles apart. Doubtless these three tablets fix the north and south limits of Akhutaten on the East side\*: hence  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles must be (approximately) the equivalent of

MAY 2]

6 atru [1 khet 
$$\dagger$$
 (?)] 1 remen  $\frac{1}{4}$  khet 4 cubits.  
= 6 atrus + 179 (or 79) cubits.

Since  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles = 20760 cubits, the *atru* would according to this be about 3460 cubits.

It is not likely that the distances between the stelæ were measured by the Egyptians with any great amount of accuracy; the ground is none too level even across the plain, so that the specification of "4 cubits" seems an over-refinement if the measurement was the distance between two points fixed by the king. If on the other hand, the points were fixed to agree with a previously determined plan, it must be admitted that 6 atrus + 179 (or 79) cubits is a very extraordinary measure for a person to select in laying out a new city.

Mr. Petrie has made a happy conjecture with regard to this. 20,760 cubits, the actual length of Akhutaten, suggests a connection with the Babylonian measure kaspu, which appears to be 21,600 Babylonian cubits. A Babylonian architect may have been employed by Akhuenaten (whose dealings with western Asia have lately been revealed in so surprising a fashion), and have settled the length at 1 kaspu. The atru may have been fixed at 3,600 cubits (as it were 10 Babylonian sos) and the six atru would then be practically the kaspu. The odd 179 (or 79) cubits would be the amount, carefully calculated, resulting from the difference between the Egyptian cubit and the Babylonian.

However this may be, and I do not at present see that any other plausible explanation can be found—the *atru* at Tell el-Amarna cannot be very far from 3,600 Egyptian cubits, about  $1\frac{1}{6}$  English miles. It is worth adding that the stela of Kûm el-Ahmar,  $\frac{1}{6}$ 

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<sup>\*</sup> A (with E) is the South limit and J the Northern: also G, lying Eastward and about halfway between A and J, must be the "central" stela.

<sup>†</sup> I do not know whether the signs of form merely a heading for the fractions that follow, or are to be read as a distinct member of the group.

<sup>‡</sup> Proceedings, XIV, p. 407.

mentioning 21 khet, implies that the atru was not yet reached at 2,100 cubits.

#### Section II.—Measures of Area.

Page 410, line 21, after "in breadth," add as a note, "thus the land system was in strips of 1 × 100 cubits, the latter no doubt the length of the plough-cut or furrow length, which was the basis of field measuring in Egypt as in the West."—W.M.F.P.

For evidence that the royal cubit was the cubit used in the land measures, see above, p. 302.

#### SECTION III.—MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

Page 421, line 10, for  $\frac{1}{16}$  read  $\frac{1}{10}$ .

The hekt, Dynasty XVIII, p. 430.

The double hekt and the quadruple hekt are found on fragments of a stela, recording offerings with pefsu entries, from the temple of Akhutaten (Tell el-Amarna), exhibited by Mr. Petrie, and now in Lord Amherst's collection.

The re, p. 426. Some accounts written on the verso of the fragmentary papyrus 10,371 of the British Museum (Proverbs of Ptahhotep, XII-XIIIth dynasty) include a few clear groups in which indicating fractions of the re. I had already been puzzled by some obscurer traces of the same in the Kahûn papyri, and now that the nature of them is known, identification may perhaps follow. In any case the existence of these special symbols, which must have gone out of use at an early date, is worth noting.

The *medimnus*, p. 433. The "Ptolemaic medimnus,"\* equal to the  $\bigcap$  of the New Kingdom, was probably not used in the accounts of the Greeks. I have not been able to find any reference to it, and according to information kindly given by Professor Mahaffy and Mr. Kenyon, it has not yet been met with in the large collections of Greek papyri under their care. This circumstance need not diminish its *theoretical* importance as the root of the new system in the old.

<sup>\*</sup> The reference to Hultsch should be 1st ed., p. 284, or better 2nd ed., p. 624.

### SECTION IV.—WEIGHTS.

Page 438, values of gold, silver, and lead?

"If we suppose that was gold, was electrum, and was silver in the early time before the XVIIIth dynasty, then as electrum was paled down by competition, the name might come to mean only silver; and as lead came into common use it might be dignified by the older name for silver? We must never assume that names continue to mean the same things in different ages. I quite distrust all arguments about names of materials—only see the utter confusion of materials in Pliny and classical authors, whom we cannot safely clear up.

Page 439, l. 13, "abounds" is quite the wrong word. The published papyri, unfortunately, offer but few instances of the copper unit, for which see p. 104, 109 of Chabas' excellent Recherches sur les poids mesures et monnaies.†

The ox unit, pp. 438-439.

In writing these two pages, I drew attention by a typographical device to sundry facts bearing on the question of an "ox-unit" in Egypt, while I intentionally abstained from using the word itself until I had studied Professor Ridgeway's valuable work,‡ of which I had already heard the principle.

To show that an ox unit existed from the Hyksos period to the time of Amenhotep III, 1700—1450 BC., it is only necessary to put together three facts already mentioned in two consecutive paragraphs. In the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus Q | hetem (?) means "heads of oxen," and the same word khetem? with a different determination."

<sup>\*</sup> Professor Brugsch has since published evidence, A.Z., XXX, p. 110 fl., which makes it almost certain that this \( \) \

<sup>†</sup> Académie des Inscriptions, Mém. des Savants Etrangers, IX.

the "Origin of Currency and Weight Standards," by William Ridgeway.

native  $Q \vdash \overline{\Box}$  is a unit of value for metals, while in the XVIIIth dynasty an ox  $\overline{\Box}$  is valued at one  $Q \vdash \overline{\Box}$  *khetem* (?).

The word Q at Edfû is perhaps different, and I was wrong in thinking that I had found Q I used of land in the Kahûn papyri. But I believe I have found the word Q I will used of oxen in another of those documents, which unfortunately has long been at the photographer's, and not available for study. This would put back its use to nearly 2500 B.C.

The name *khetem* may on the one hand mean a "seal," or "seal ring," \* and so perhaps a "ring" of metal; or, on the other perhaps a "sealing" *i.e.*, "branding of an ox."

The weight of the metals in the ox-unit is uncertain,† and its value in the Hyksos period, as well as in the XVIIIth dynasty, varied with the metal; the latter fact is an anomaly probably due to changes in the relative values of the metals compared to gold after the weight or proportional weights of the *khetem* of various metals had become fixed.

## Inscribed Weights.

Notes to the previous catalogue, Vol. XIV, pp. 442-449.

No. 2. Gold standard. Prefessor Wiedemann informs me that this weight, now in the Louvre, is identical with that mentioned on p. 261 of his *Geschichte*: it was formerly in his own collection and came from Kûs (near Coptos).

No. 6a. 5 kiti. Herr Borchardt has pointed out to me that the strange inscription on the top can be interpreted as a hieroglyphic spelling of the German words 1 unz, "one ounce"! yet it can hardly be the work of a forger.

No. 10. Translate "Uahabra (Apries),  $\frac{1}{2}$  (uten), 10 khepen (-kiti)" (or "khenp-kiti").

units, uten = [1460 (?) grains]khenp-kiti = [73 (?) grains] (half kiti).

Additional specimens. A reference in Hultsch's great Metrologie has directed me to a publication in 1875, by Bergmann, of two

<sup>\*</sup> In this connection Mr. Petrie points out that gold seal rings in Egypt are of fairly uniform weight, about 140 grains, and may have been adjusted to a standard equal to the value of an ox: some heavy ones probably reach 210 grains. Accurate weighings might give interesting results.

<sup>†</sup> Probably 200 grains; see p. 313. ‡ See the khenp weights (p. 310).

inscribed weights in the Vienna Museum.\* It will be seen that one of these (No. 39 below) is of the highest importance. The particulars of his five new weights (Nos. 31-35) are furnished by Mr. Petrie. Mr. Hilton Price kindly lent me the fine Saite specimen (No. 36) to describe.

31. Oblong steatite 322.8 grains, ÷ 3.

107.6 must be half of the ordinary gold standard (heavy variety), forming a second gold unit:† an important weight.

32. Oblong steatite | 1507.3 grains, ÷ 8, from Egypt. Unit 188.4.

The gold standard (light variety).

33. Square basalt, archaic 1276.6 grains, ÷ 6, from Koft Unit 212.6. (Coptos).

Gold standard (heavy variety).

34. Broad oblong limestone ∩∩∩∩ 13563.0 grains, ÷ 50, from Unit 271'26 grains. Koft.

> Double kiti: a new and interesting standard for an inscribed weight.

35. Oblong limestone, 2 cuts in edge 841'9 grains, ÷ 2, from Unit 421'0. Koft.

The copper (?) standard, see Nos. 20-23.

weight 14,840 grains, from Cairo. Collection of F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A. Probably sep is the name of this weight, which belonged to a personage called after one of the kings of the XXVIth dynasty.

\* These were again published, with No. 37, by the same scholar in the Recueil de Travaux. I have to thank Dr. Kenner, Director of the Vienna Museum, and Dr. Dedekind, Assistant-curator of the Egyptian Collection, for full information respecting the objects themselves and references to the works in which they have appeared.

Most of the Assyrian weights existed in two forms, single and double, the corresponding members of each series none the less having the same names. Mr. Petrie has long since recognised double forms amongst the uninscribed

weights in Egypt.

37. White quartz, oblong, with all the edges rounded: on one tace () "Usertesen [I(?)]," on the other "the goldsmith Hormeri," 55'3 grammes = 853'4 grains.

Clearly 4 "gold units" of 213'3 grains.

XIIth dynasty. Vienna Museum, No. 3148: figured, Anton von Steinbüchel, Scarabées égyptiens figurés du Musée des Antiquités de sa Majesté l'Empereur (Vienna, 1824), Taf. II, 43 a and b (the inscriptions reversed); described, Bergmann, Recueil de Travaux, XII, p. 10.

38. Domed basalt \(\sqrt{1}\) \

XXVIth dynasty by the name. Vienna Museum. Bergmann, Numismatische Zeitschrift (Vienna), IV, p. 166. Recueil de Travaux, XII, 10.

39. Domed basalt of the Uahabra (Apries), uten, (equal) to 5 khenp-uten," weight 94.65 grammes = 1460 grains.

units, uten = 1460 grains khenp-uten = 292 grains (double kiti).

XXVIth dynasty. Vienna Museum. Bergmann, Num. Z., p. 167. Recueil de Travaux, XII, 10.

The Khenp Weights.

The two weights,\* No. 39 at Vienna, and No. 10 from Naucratis, each bearing the name of Uahabra (Apries) are evidently closely allied. The first is in good condition, but the second has been broken and readjusted, so that it has hitherto been impossible to ascertain its original standard, nor could the inscription

<sup>\* 39</sup> figured, Bergmann, Num. Zeitsch., IV, p. 167; 10 figured, Petrie, Nancratis, I, Pl. XXII, fig. 100, and described on p. 79.

be correctly translated until the nature of the group was made clear by its occurrence as on the parallel example, which I had overlooked.

Now these difficulties are practically overcome. No. 38 weighs 1460 grains, and is therefore, as the signs imply, an ordinary uten. No. 10 in its mutilated condition weighs 570.7 grains; "it has been broken off below and ground down again to a flat bottom, rather roughly, and apparently adjusted to 4 kats": this process has injured the inscription, which must therefore refer to its original condition, not to the readjustment. As probably more than one fifth of its bulk has been lost in the fracture and subsequent grinding, we cannot be wrong in adding 160 grains to its present weight, and so making it  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the uten No. 38. In this way we satisfactorily explain the sign  $\frac{1}{2}$ , which has here the same value as on No. 7, where  $\frac{1}{1111}$  means " $\frac{1}{2}$  (uten or) 5 (kiti)."

Having thus ascertained these primary standards, we can proceed to consider the other indications of weight in the two inscriptions. No. 38 is "5 khenp-utens,"\* No. 10 "10 khepen(-kitis)." Khenp and khepen being evidently the same word, we can deduce from them the following values for a "khenp" series:—

khenp-uten =  $\frac{1}{5}$  uten (2 kiti) = 292 grains. khenp-(kiti) =  $\frac{1}{20}$  uten ( $\frac{1}{2}$  kiti) = 73 grains. and khenp-uten = 4 khenp-(kiti.)

It is not easy to identify these by absolute weight with any known units: Mr. Petrie has indeed long suspected the existence of a double uten and double kiti standard (No. 34 in the catalogue seems to be an example of a standard equal to the double of a light kiti), so that the khenp-uten might be the name of the supposed double kiti; but there are two important considerations that I think tend to place these equation-weights in a definite historical position.

These weights evidently belong to a series issued under the XXVIth dynasty. The locality from which No. 38 came is un-

<sup>\*</sup> The inscription on the Vienna weight has, however, been read, "I uten (fixed) by the standard of the 5-uten (weight)." See Bergmann, Recueit de Traviux, I.c. The Naucratis specimen could likewise be read (though with difficulty) as "½ uten (fixed by the) standard of the 10-uten (weight)." As an alternative rendering of the inscriptions which, if proved to be correct, would annihilate the khenp theory, it must be here recorded in spite of some orthographic and linguistic improbability.

fortunately not known; but No. 10 was obtained at Naucratis, the Greek trading colony established in the Western Delta by the kings of the XXVIth dynasty.

The khenp-kiti is  $\frac{1}{2}$  kiti, the khenp uten  $\frac{1}{5}$  uten. Now the Ptolemaic and Roman papyri render in demotic the drachm by " $\frac{1}{2}$  kiti," or  $\frac{1}{20}$  uten, while the tetradrachm is the "stater," equated with 2 kiti, or  $\frac{1}{5}$  uten. There is certainly here an analogy.

Apries however must have lived under the XXVIth dynasty, and most probably under his namesake Psammetichus I, or Apries the predecessor of Amasis. At any rate these weights cannot be later than the first few years following the Persian conquest, *i.e.*, about 520 B.C. Even at that date Athenian coinage alone could not have seriously affected commerce in Egypt so as to induce the Egyptians to divide their ancient standard on a new system.

But the exigencies of commerce with all quarters may have introduced a change about the time of the foundation of Naucratis. Amongst the Phœnicians the heavy shekel of 260 grains was prabably the standard for gold; while, as Professor Ridgeway has shown, the ox-unit of 130-138 grains was the ancient gold standard throughout Greece, where also the half-unit or drachma was prevalent at a very early time. It is not unlikely that the traders had already combined the Phœnician shekel with the Greek drachma, producing drachma and tetradrachm, when our Apries and the Egyptians adapted the system to their native standard,\* and gave to its chief elements the names of khenp-uten and khenp-(kiti?); the original kiti at the same time corresponded to the didrachm or "ox-unit" of 130 grains.

The word , var. , khenp, khepen, is not known in the Egyptian dictionaries. Its double orthography (and perhaps the absence of a determinative) is in favour of a foreign origin. I do not know of any Greek word or proper name to suit it, but in Hebrew there is a root , "profane," which seems to fit the requirements admirably. According to this, the Greek standard would be designated by the somewhat contemptuous word "profane," the Semitic term having perhaps already been in use amongst Phænician traders with Greece and Egypt, since the system was not purely native in any of the countries concerned.

<sup>\*</sup> The ancient Egyptians seem to have had a kind of drachma and tetra-drachm in their early system of the 200-grain standard; but the khenp-weights should be foreign by their names.

# Principal Standards of Weight in Egypt.

The variation of the standards shown by the weights in the catalogue makes the task of classification very difficult; two standards emerge from the chaos, being marked out by the specific information contained in their inscriptions.

### Gold standard, 200 grains: -

The first of these is the gold standard of about 200 grains. We now know three units that may be referred to it: No. 37 shows a "gold" unit of 1c7 grains; this may for convenience be termed "gold drachma." The didrachm is far commoner: Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 38 have a "gold" unit varying from 196 to 212 grains, and there are evidently other specimens without the name "gold." A tetradrachm also appears frequently; although there is no specimen naming "gold"; on the other hand No. 20 appears to name it "copper unit."

Multiples of the didrachm belonging to this standard are dated by cartouches extending from Chufu of the IVth dynasty to Thothmes I of the XVIIIth, the date of the latter being about the beginning of the 16th century B.C. The evidence of excavation, however, shows that the standard existed to a much later date, and a lighter variety reappears in the Greek monetary standard named the Aeginetan.

The gold drachma varies certainly from 98 to 106 grains, and probably No. 13 (the didrachm apparently named uten) should be placed in this class with a drachma of 109 grains.

The didrachm is probably the ancient ox-unit, named khetem and khetem-uten in the papyri of the XVIIIth dynasty and earlier.

### Uten-kiti, 1400-140 grains:-

Probably this is the standard of the *inscriptions* of the XVIIIth dynasty as well as of the later inscriptions and papyri. The examples of it \* inscribed with personal names and royal cartouches are all of the XXVIth dynasty or later. The standard of those on which "kiti" and "uten" are specified varies only from 140 to 146 grains for the kiti, but there is evidently a much wider range of variation amongst other specimens. The kiti nearly corresponds to the average ox-unit † (of Professor Ridgeway), as found in the shekels and

<sup>\*</sup> Nos. 10, 39; also 9, 30, 36, 38.

<sup>†</sup> I need hardly explain that "ox-unit" means the nominal weight-equivalent of an ox in gold, or in any other metal if it be specified.

talents of Greece and Western Asia. The old Egyptian gold drachma\* is about  $\frac{3}{3}$  of the kiti, and the kiti is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the gold didrachm, *i.e.*, the old Egyptian ox-unit. Gold was abundant in Egypt in early times, but conquest and commerce tended to bring it to a uniform value throughout the ancient world.

It would appear that in the XXVIth dynasty the kiti was halved to form a drachma of 73 grains, and doubled to form a tetradrachm or heavy shekel of 292 grains; these new units are named on the weights "khenp [kiti?]" and "khenp-uten" respectively, in which names khenp appears to mean "profane." Tetradrachms soon afterwards, namely in the 5th century B.C., took the leading place in coinage of various standards, those of Athens especially being found abundantly throughout the Greek world †; and in Egypt the demotic papyri render the tetradrachm (probably meaning thereby the coins of the contemporary Ptolemaic standards) by the name "stater," nominally equated to  $\frac{1}{3}$  uten of silver, so that the stater corresponds apparently to an earlier "profane (?) uten," while the drachma in the same documents is  $\frac{1}{2}$  kiti of silver, like the earlier "profane (?) [kiti?]."

The pek,  $\frac{1}{128}$  of the uten, is found once as a unit for gold in an inscription of an *Ethiopian* king, perhaps of the 5th century B.C. (See Vol. XIV, p. 441.)

### ADDENDA.

In the divisions of the cubit the "span" should be read šat (?), not pt.‡

For the airu and ar see some further instances quoted by Brugsch, Die sieben jahre der hungersnoth, p. 70 ff. The form  $\bigwedge$  is especially interesting, as intermediate both in age and orthography between  $\bigwedge$   $\bigwedge$   $\bigwedge$   $\bigwedge$   $\bigwedge$   $\bigwedge$  (Attendance). This completing link in the chain of forms of the word is found in an inscription of Darius, and on the stela of the seven years of famine at Sehêl.

The full text of the Tell el Amarna stelæ has just been published by Daressy in the *Recucil de Travaux*, XV, pp. 50-62. The passage printed above (p. 303) is not quite correct in the French edition.

<sup>\*</sup> This word is a convenient term for what is probably by origin not a unit but a half-unit.

<sup>†</sup> They were common at Naucratis. ‡ Brugsch, Wtb., Suppl., p. 1228.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Es wird sie interessieren, dass ich im Augenblick daran bin, die bislang übliche—so viel ich weiss—auf sehr schwachen Fussen stehende Lesung wtn für umzustossen, und—freilich nicht mit unbedingter sicherheit\*—durch dbn zu ersetzen. Ich stütze mich dabei auf den Passus der Bauerngeschichte Z. 165/6—

W. SPIEGELBERG.

Charlottenburg, 18 April, 1893.

The word uten (utn) has been so long current in metrology as the principal weight-name in Egypt, that one has been content to leave it undisturbed until a new variant of should show it to be wrong or right. Besides utn† it might read thn, and now Dr. Spiegelberg's happy decipherment of an obscurely written group in the story of the Sekhti gives unmistakeably the latter reading for Consequently throughout metrological literature, including the above "Notes," UTEN, wherever it occurs, must be changed to TEBEN, or, in the Berlin style, deben.

It is remarkable that *teben* and *kiti* can both be connected etymologically with the idea of "circle," "ring." *Teben* is well known in the sense of "circular," etc., and has no other root-meaning. Moreover, the sign properly represents only such ideas as *circulate*, *encircle*, etc.

We are now in a position to explain the sign  $\bigcirc$ , which represents the unit on many inscribed weights (viz., 1, 4, 14, 18, 22, 31), by the following series:—  $\bigcirc$ ,  $\bigcirc$   $\bigcirc$   $\bigcirc$  (No. 13),  $\bigcirc$   $\bigcirc$   $\bigcirc$ ,  $\bigcirc$   $\bigcirc$   $\bigcirc$ . It is, in fact, simply a picture, used for extreme brevity in writing, of the ring *teben*, and it is actually to be read *teben*, "ring."  $\bigcirc$  is of course a picture of the rectangular stone weight.

<sup>\*</sup> I venture to think that doubt is impossible.

<sup>†</sup> utn would more correctly be .

Teben, "a ring," is a generic term. The standard of the rings might vary, and we know two standards, namely, the old gold and the teben-kiti standards.

I beg to congratulate Dr. Spiegelberg on his interesting discovery, and to thank him most cordially for permitting me to publish it here without delay. An article on the values of the sign may shortly be looked for from his pen.



### EUPHRATEAN STELLAR RESEARCHES.

BY ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A.

#### PART II.

The Tablet K, 2894.—Obverse. And The Tablet K, 2310.—Reverse.

I.

THE Tablet K, 2894, Ob., a copy of which was given in the Proceedings, March, 1888, and which in many respects is closely connected with the Tablet K, 2310, Ob., translated by me in the Proceedings, April, 1892, reads as follows:—

I. Y ≿≿¥≻¥	<b>→</b>     ( = <b>→</b>    ,	-1111) (国	-[]&	(=-1/2)
Kakkab	Nun-	ki,	Nabu	
The-star	Prince-of-th	he-Earth,	the-P	roclamation
· · · · · · []	]			
[va	3			
[an	d]			

In the Tablet of the Thirty Stars, Star No. XXIX, "The Star of the Proclamation of the Sea" = "the Star Prince of the Earth."\*  $Nunki = \sigma$  Sagittarii,† and the Sea, whose coming is proclaimed, is the celestial space occupied by the Dolphin, Sea-goat, Water-pourer, and the three Fishes, etc.‡ In W.A.I., III, lvii, No. 1, we read:—

Sibirri (û) GAN - ZI mati eśiri.

The-crops (and) herbage (?) of-the-land prosperous (ave).

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Proceedings, January, 1890, p. 148.

<sup>†</sup> Vide Ibid., April, 1892, p. 298.

<sup>‡</sup> Vide *Ibid.*, January, 1890, p. 149.

According to the astrologers, who have preserved so much that is ancient, Sagittarius "inclines to fruitfulness." In W.A.I., III, lii, No. 2, we read:—

su'âta ibassi.

the (this) is.

The term  $di\chi u$ , 'faces,' appears to denote what astrologers call the 'aspect,' and therefore permits two stars or planets to be at various distances from each other, and does not necessarily imply that they are on opposite sides of the heaven. *Ganzi* is probably, like *sibirri*, 'crops,' an Akkadian loan-word, connected in meaning with the Akkadian *gan*, 'field,' 'garden.'

Scorpio and Sagittarius are adjoining constellations. For further comment on this line, vide Proceedings, February, 1889, p. 145.

Mercury, "the dog of the Sun," is so styled from its heliacal rising, and is also called Nabu ("the Proclaimer"), and Sulpauddu (vide inf. l. 9). After the lacuna the line ends \*\* [E]], perhaps to be read satti itik "... year crosses."

4. | Fig. 4. | F

kakkabi sa risi kakkab Gir - tab

stars of beginning (form) the constellation of-the-Scorpion

rabi - va great; and

Izśi, As. Uśśi, = "the red planet" Mars. As to the expression 'beginning,' vide note on l. 8. Oriôn was a giant, but the Scorpion was "huger still."\* So Ovid (Metam. i, 195-7):—

"Est locus, in geminos ubi brachia concavat arcus Scorpios; et cauda flexisque utrinque lacertis, Porrigit in spatium signorum membra duorum."

There is a special connexion in the Tablets between Mars and Scorpio, which, in astrology, "is the House of Mars and also his Joy," as there is between the red "Aρηs, known in Greek astronomy as Pyroeis, and the star Cor Scorpionis, ὑπόκιβρος [="saffron-yellow"] καλούμενος 'Αντάρηs (Ptolemy), a term meaning at once "Equal-to-" and "Opposite-to-Arês." Thus, in W.A.I. III, liii, No. 1, we read:—

Gir - tab  $di\chi u$ Scorpion (is) opposite;

<sup>\*</sup> Aratos, Phainomena, 643.

<sup>†</sup> As to the Scorpion, vide Proceetings, February, 1890, pp. 196-201; March, 1891, pp. 263-5.

This is a conjunction, as mentioned in our Tablet, l. 4; and the statement is of rather special interest, inasmuch as in Hindu astronomy we find "the term for planet [is] graha, 'the seizer,' [which] is evidently of astrological origin."\* Hence planetary seizing = entering a Sign.

The-Fiery-one the-constellation of-the-Scorpion

とは、マガスイー EYYY ka - bi; D.P. Ni - bat-a - nu ina libbi Death-in-heaven in the-midst is-fixed. addresses:

Here Izśi is identified with Nibatanu (vide Fig. 1), and its position is ina libbi absi, "in the midst of the abyss" (Tablet of the Thirty Stars, l. 25), which is deemed to be somewhere in or near Scorpio. + With Izśi cf. the Magyar izzo, 'fervens.'

'Addresses.'—A technical term, which frequently occurs. It indicates a special connexion between two heavenly bodies, and reappears in Classical astrology. Thus, according to Manilius (Astron., ii, 486 et seq.), the Ram hears himself, the Bull the Fishes, the Twins the Water-pourer, the Crab the Goat, the Lion the Archer, the Virgin the Scorpion, and the Balance "suos sequitur sensus."

Mars "goes slowly" across Scorpio, as Jupiter "lingers" (vudannat) in the constellation of Gula (W.A.I. III, lvii, No. 1, Sec. i, l. 2; vide inf p. 337). Mr. Pinches connects yutammal with emelu, "to toil wearily." Cf. Heb. עמל

The doctrine of the planetary Houses is certainly Euphratean in origin, witness the following Fragment from Dôrotheos, who appears

<sup>\*</sup> Weber, Hist. Indian Literature, 1878, p. 250.

<sup>†</sup> Vide Proceedings, February, 1890, p. 197.

to have been a native of Sidon, and who is called by Plutarch\* ὁ Χαλδαῖος†:—

Αίρετοὶ ἐκ τούτων μᾶλλον Κρόνος εἰν Ὑ εροχῆι, Ζεὺς δ' ἐνὶ Τοξευτῆ, καὶ Σκορπίω ἤεται Ἄρης · Κύπρις δ' ἐν Ταύρω γάνυται νόον, ἐν εἐ νυ Κούρη 'Ερμείας · εἶς δ' ἔστι εόμος φωστῆρος ἐκάστου.

Here the poet uses the technical term "House" (ĉóμος), assigning the Water-pourer to Saturn, the Archer to Jupiter, the Scorpion to Mars (vide sup. l. 4), the Bull to Venus, and the Virgin to Mercury.

Y == Y--Y ->111 = 6. Kakkab Gir - tab karni - sa The-constellation of-the-Scorpion, its horns 1-511 4-4 1115 EN W 211 211 -4 zu - h - u ra sa - ru - ru sami isakkin-a. Splendour (and) brightness of-heaven they-cause.

Tsuru, zuru, Heb. זהר. As to saruru, cf. Tab. K. 2310 Rev. l. 6.

\* Peri Fotomôn, xxiii.

is-fixed. And

<sup>†</sup> It is not probable that Plutarch used the term 'Chaldwan' in the sense of an astronomico-astrological professor, which is its meaning in Juvenal, Tacitus, and Suetonius.

<sup>‡</sup> Proceedings, February, 1890, p. 199.

II, Ivii, 49), Kakkab Mi Zi-ba-ni-tuv, "the Star Zibanna, the Black." Jensen renders l. 7: "Bibbu ina libbi Zibaniti izzaz=Mars stand im Zibanitu,"† which he connects with the Arabic El-zubêna, "the Claws" (of the Scorpion). But, as I have endeavoured to show, ‡ there was no Euphratean Sign of the Claws; and the Akkadian name Zibanna does not mean 'claws,' and has no connexion with zubêna, which is a translation of the Greek Χηλαί. Further, it will be observed that Jensen does not translate the word libbi; the scribe does not say that some planet "stands in Zibanitu," but "in the place of Zibanitu," a fact which proves that Zibanna is not a constellation. In IV.A.I. II, lvii, 44 et seq., it is connected with single stars, such as Dilgan (Capella) and Kaksisa (Sirius). In W.A.I. III, lvii, No. 6, where the names of certain stars in several 7-star groups are given, Zibanna appears as the 7th star in the group of the 7 ET II ma-a-su, "Twin-stars"; the others are (1) the Mastabbagalgal ("Great-twins") = Castor and Pollux. (2) The Mastabbaturtur ('Little-twins') perhaps here \gamma and \eta Geminorum. (3) The Mastabba ('Twins') near Sibzianna, = (probably)  $\delta$  and  $\epsilon$  Virginis. (4) Ninsar and Urragal (vide Proceedings, February, 1890, p. 193) =  $\beta$  and  $\eta$  Virginis. (5) "The Star of Nebo," i.e., Mercury, in his two phases, Nabu and Nusku.§ And (6) Sarur and Sargas (vide *Ibid.*, p. 207), = (probably)  $\lambda + v$  and  $\theta$  *Scorpionis*. The planet Saturn, like the planet Mercury, will be regarded as a "Twin-star" by virtue of two different phases.

The form Zibanna is akin to such names as Tiranna (>+ Y), As. Dayan-same, "Judge-of-heaven," i.e., Polaris),

Έρμῆς δὲ ψυχὰς Κυλλήνιος ἐξεκαλεῖτο ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων ἔχε δὲ ῥάβδον μετὰ χερσὶ καλήν χρυσείην, τῷ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὅμματα θέλγει ὧν ἐθέλει τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει. (Od. XXIV, 1-4.)

That is to say, Hermês the Evening-star 'lulls,' and Hermês the Morning-star 'rouses.'

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Proceedings, March, 1891, p. 269.

<sup>†</sup> Die Kosmologie der Babylonier, 68.

<sup>‡</sup> Proceedings, March, 1891, p. 262, et seq.

<sup>§</sup> Mercury as Sulpauddu, Hermês, the Morning-star, is associated with Tu ('Death.' Vide W.A.I. III, lxvii, 21); and Nusku, the Evening-Mercury, reappears in a familiar Homeric scene:—

<sup>||</sup> Vide Proceedings, March, 1891, p. 248.

V. ► V ► XV Iz - za - az

Is-fixed.

ki mati erib, - va ina musi ûl innamar. Sarru according to (its) region, sets, and in the-night is not seen. The-king

imat - va  $\chi$ usu $\chi\chi$ u ibas - si. dies, and famine occurs.

\* This name, translated in Assyrian by Ri'u-but-same, also reappears in Greek, i.e., as Βοώτης (Od., V, 272; Anakreôn, Fragments, iii, xxxi), "the Ploughman." The star β Βοῦτίς is El-bakkûr, Bubuleus, and the idea of the ox-driving Ploughman or Herdsman, as applied to the constellation, is Euphratean in origin. Its other and more strictly Greek name is 'Αρκτοφίνλαξ ("the Beavward"), in which the Euphratean idea of taking charge of some animal is applied in connexion with the Aryan constellation of the Great Bear. Boötês, says Aratos, φέρεται ἐλάοντι ἐυκώς "moves as if he drove" (Phainomena, 91). Actual inspection will show that this is mere fancy, and that the simile arises, not naturally, but from the application to Boötes of the foreign (Euphratean) idea of a driver of some kind. Jensen (Die Kosmologie der Babylonier, 48-9) supposes that Sibzianna must be a star "in der Nähe wenigstens der Ekliptik." This view is based on two errors: (I) a mistranslation of the passage W.A.I. III,

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The star-name - is read by Jensen and others, As-kar, but, as the name of the planet Venus,  $\rightarrow \bigvee$   $\rightarrow \bigvee = Gk$ .  $\Delta \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \phi \dot{\alpha} \tau$ ,  $\dot{o}$   $\tau \dot{\eta} s$ 'Αφροδίτης ἀστηρ, ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων (Hêsychios, in τος.), we need not hesitate to transliterate the first syllable by dil, as Prof. Sayce has done. Kar is a secondary value of  $\frac{1}{2}$ , but the value gan (= As. nabadhu, 'light'), is far more appropriate. "In Akkadian times," says Prof. Sayce, "the commencement of the year was determined by the position of the star . . . Dilgan . . . in relation to the new moon at the vernal equinox."\* So we read in the W.A.I. III, lii, No. 3, Rev. 1.8: Mitxarti ris satti sa kakkabi Dilgan, tamurti D.P. Sini, etc., "the appearance at the beginning of the year of the star Dilgan, the sight of the Moon," etc. Messrs Sayce and Bosanquet† have ably shown that Dilgan, in As. Iku, "the Leader" (i.e., of the year), and called - , Dil-gan Bab-ili, being the patron star of Babylon, = Câpella (a Aurigæ). § In the Tablet of the Thirty Stars we read :--

li, 17-19: "During the period when the Moon is Anu," > , ina gaggar, "in the region [vide Sayce and Bosanquet, The Babylonian Astron., No. 2, p. 121] of the star Sibzianna it is seen." Ina gaggar might also be rendered "over the orbit" (vide Proceedings, April, 1892, p. 296). For gaggar Jensen words "hablest (hablest)" And (2)

the-Tempest of the-Abode-of-life.

p. 121] of the star Sibzianna it is seen." Ina gaggar might also be rendered "over the orbit" (vide Proceedings, April, 1892, p. 296). For gaggar Jensen reads "kakkar (kakkabu)." And (2) on a misunderstanding of the passage W.A.I. III, liii, No. I, Rev., l. 28: Sin tarbatsa ipaxxir-va kakkab Sibzianna ina libbi-su izzaz, which means that the star Sibzianna is fixed in its own place, not in that of the Moon (cf. W.A.I. III, lix, No. 12, lines 4, 5, inf.; and W.A.I. III, lix, No. 15, Rev., l. 5: Samas erib-va ina manzazi Sin izzaz, "the Sun sets, and the Moon in its (own) fortress [= place] is fixed"). Hommel (Die Astronomie der alten Chaldäer, iii, 10, 11), who renders Sibzianna by "treue Hüter des Himmels," holds that it may be some stars in the Twins, or Betelgeuse (a Orionis), or Sirius; so that, according to him, it may or may not be an ecliptic star.

<sup>\*</sup> Herodotus, 402.

<sup>†</sup> The Babylonian Astronomy, No. 2, in the Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, Vol. XL, No. 3.

<sup>‡</sup> Vide Proceedings, March, 1891, p. 249.

<sup>§</sup> Vide Ibid., April, 1892, pps. 301-4.

Mâtu, the Tempest-god, had been the agent of vengeance against mankind at the Flood; a Capella, the Tempest-star,\* of Tintirki (i.e., Babylon) is sacred to him.

Ki mati. Cf. Ki libbi (inf. p. 334).

9. FIIIF I PRO SUB - THE FIVE EI (FF - A)

Yu - me sub - tim yu-ma - mi; sama

For-days in-its-place it (Dilgan)-is-obscured; the-heave i

utala - a D.P. Sul - pa - ud-du ûl ibassi.

an-eclipse (possesses). The-Messenger-of-the Rising-Sun is not (seen).

# -----

Kibitta

At-last

Sulpauddu = Mercury (vide Proceedings, March, 1891, pps. 247-8).

D.P. Lu-bat-gut-tav innamar-va erib-va ûl ibassi-va Jupiter is-seen, and it-sets, and is not (visible); and

ina sanni nahidi yu-mi ûl innamar.

on the-second clear day it is not seen.

Lubatguttav ("the-old-Sheep-of-the-furrow-of-heaven") = Jupiter (vide Proceedings, March, 1891, p. 248).

kibitta erib, sa sanni nahidi arxi ûl innamar.

at-last it-sets, when on-the-second clear (day) of-the-month it is not seen.

12. | FF + F - III FI W FII F - E FII FI Kakkab Nu - tsir - da za - mar i - lav · va

The-constellation Image-of-the-Serpent at-the-same time it-rises and

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Proceedings, March, 1891, pps. 300-303.

va - mar it - pal; enuva kakkabi - su kima at the-same-time it-sets; then its-stars like

ka - ra - ri - e ibassu.

circles are.

This constellation, which is mentioned in the Tablet of the Thirty Stars (l. 44), may be in As. Tsalamu-tsiri or Rubu-tsiri ("Prince-of-the-Serpent"). Star No. XXV of the Thirty is Kakkab Tsir ("the Star of the Snake"), which appears to be  $\eta$  Serpentarii.\* Nutsirda is probably Serpentarius and Serpens, or a part of them. I am indebted to Prof. Sayce for the translation of zamar.

D.P. Lu-bat-gut-tav innamar-va itpal-va ûl innamar

Jupiter is-seen, and it-sets and is not seen;

ki-ma ina yu-mi innamar: itpal-va ûl innamar.

thus at daybreak it-is-seen: it-sets and is not seen.

14. ELY-Y- L (ELY-YLEY) - ILLEY - ILLE

In W.A.I. III, lii, No. 1, lines 1-2, Jupiter, when rising brightly is said to form a tail; on which Prof. Sayce observes, "This would refer to the streak of light thrown by the rising planet upon a misty atmosphere."† The stars of a constellation may of course be so regarded as to form circles (vide l. 12), like e.g., those of Libra‡ or Corona.

Kakkab Su - gi tarbatsa, kakkabi

The-constellation of-the-Chariot-yoke sets, the-stars

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Proceedings, February, 1890, p. 200.

<sup>†</sup> Transactions, IV, p. 37.

<sup>‡</sup> Vide Proceedings, March, 1891, p. 261.

ipaχχiru. Sin ina libbi kakkabi
collect (= set). The-Moon in the-midst of-the-constellation

El - 11 Δ - 111(τ) Εl
Su - gi tarbatsa ipaχχir, - va
of-the-Chariot-yoke sets (lit. disappearance makes), and

Hence, Hommel's identification of Sugi with Orion falls to the ground.

16. | EX-+ EX-Y | EX-Y

satti nazuzu sibirri ina satti suati imakaru.
year they-are conspicuous, the-crops in year this (men) sell.

Yumi ibassi

At-daybreak it-appears (lit. is).

Kakkabi - su ba - ah - lu

Its-stars are-produced.

As to Sugi, vide Proceedings, April, 1892, pps. 280-1; inf. p. 328.

18. The-star the-Leader (Kakśiśa) for a north wind its appearance makes:

19. At daybreak it-is-seen; a north wind blows.

Translated by me in Proceedings, April, 1892, p. 281.

20. | ΞΥ-Υ Τ ΞΥ (ΙΞ ΞΥΙΙΥ Τ΄

Kakkab Kak - śi - śa χalabu mati

The-star the-Leader (is) misty: in-the-land

χα - ru - bi - e ikkalu devour.

= K. 2310, Ob. l. 6.

- 21. In the-month Tammuz the-star the-Leader (and) the-star the-Eagle are-in-the-ascendant: the sesame will be flourishing.
  - = K. 2310, Ob. l. 7 (vide Proceedings, April, 1892, p. 282).
- 22. The-star the-Leader and the-star the-Eagle together are-seen; and,
  - = K. 2310, Ob. l. 8 (vide *Ibid.*, p. 283).
- 23. The constellation the Yoke (Capricorn) at sunrise its-appearance makes: at daybreak (it is) bright. An east wind.
- = K. 2310, Ob. lines 9-10. For comment on lines 18-23, vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 281, et seq.
  - 24 .... 🔰 😜, illak-va, "blows and"....

#### II.

The constellation Sugi. In W.A.I. III, lvii, No. 6, we read:— LIII. Kakkab Sugi, kakkab Ud-ka-gab-a (vide inf. p. 332),

- LIV. Kakkab Sib-zi-an-na, (Arcturus, vide sup. p. 323), kakkab Kak-śiśa (Sirius),
- LV. Kakkab En-te-mas-mur (vide inf. p. 330), kakkab Id-xu (Altair, vide Proceedings, April, 1892, pps. 284–6),
- LVI. Kakkab Pa-pil-sak (vide 1bid., March, 1891, pps. 265-6), 7 Lun-ma-si."

The Ak. mas, As. mâsu, means 'hero,' the original ouranic 'Hero' being the Sun,\* an admirable instance of the application of the constant principle of reduplication;† and the Ak. lu-mas = "sheep (i.e., stars) of the hero." But mas ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) also = "to divide," 'half,' "a second," 'brother,' etc. Hence, lu-masi = (lit.) "sheep (or in As. 'oxen')-two," = 'Twins' (of some kind). Hence, therefore, Sibzianna, considered as one of the 7 pairs of Twins, will = a and  $\beta$  Boötis; Sirius = a and  $\beta$  Canis, or a Canis and a Canis Minoris (Procyon); and Altair = a and  $\beta$  Aquilæ. We therefore require a pair of stars in the ecliptic (vide l. 15) for Sugi.

Jensen and Hommel hold that the Ak. name Sugi = As. Sibu, "Old-man," 'Sheik,' Heb. שׁיבָּה, and quote W.A.I. III, liii, No. 1, Rev. l. 30, in illustration. But all that is there stated is that

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Sayce, Rel. Ancient Babs., p. 49.

<sup>†</sup> Vide Proceedings, January, 1890, p. 145.

<sup>‡</sup> Vide Ibid., April, 1892, p. 297.

"the constellation of the Pregnant-woman (Kakkab Eratu) with the constellation Sibi (( )- , "Double-eye") and the constellation of Anu [i.e., Lullim, "the Ram] is fixed." Sibi may be identical with Sugi, though this passage does not show that it is; and, if so, its name is exactly suitable for one of the Lumasi. In 1. 32 "the constellation of the Pregnant-woman" is said to 'speak' (vide sup. p. 320) to Sugi. M. Oppert, Prof. Sayce agreeing, "since ►\ 🖹 FY -YY is translated 'the front part of a chariot,' "\* renders Sugi, "Of-the-helm," meaning, I presume, "Helm-star," but Mr. Pinches translates Sugi by 'Chariot-yoke,' which appears to me to be, on the whole, much the better rendering, and which I have followed accordingly. The idea of a sky-yoke is a very natural one; we find the ecliptic itself styled "the Yoke of the sky," † and, as we have seen, ‡ the Yoke was a name for the Goat-fish (vide 1. 23), for, be it remembered, the same star or constellation may have, and frequently has, many different names. § In W.A.I. III, lvii, No. 4, we read :--

This passage further illustrates the position of Sugi as an ecliptic-constellation. In W.A.I., III, lix, No. 11, we read:—

libbi nazuzu.

(their) place are-fixed.

<sup>\*</sup> Transactions, III, p. 173, note 2.

<sup>+</sup> Vide Sayce, Babylonian Literature, 55.

<sup>‡</sup> Proceedings, April, 1892, p. 299.

<sup>§</sup> Popular names of constellations are, naturally enough, frequently based upon the shapes of their star-combinations, e.s., the two Wains. So Orion was called 'Αλεπροπόδιον (= 'Αλεκπροπόδιον), 'Cock's-foot' (vide Hêsych. in voc. 'Ωρίων. Ideler, Sternnamen, p. 220).

libbi - su izzaz.

its-place is-fixed.

To be 'fixed' = "to wax" (as the moon), "to appear," "shine bright" (as of stars).

I give these lines in further illustration of the meaning of "its place" (vide sup. p. 324 note). Sugi is fixed in its own place, not in that of the Moon, although, as an ecliptic-constellation, it might have occupied the place where the Moon had set; so, when the Moon sets, the stars are not all fixed in its place, but in their own places.

In W.A.I. III, li, No. 9, lines 26-8, the Moon is represented as being near styles of the Chariot;" and Prof. Sayce renders the line Ana kakkab Rukubi [Ak. Su-gar] luikrim, "Round the star of the Chariot it [i.e., the Moon] circled." It seems clear, however, from the late Greeko-Babylonian astronomy, that "the constellation of the Chariot" was where, indeed, we should expect to find it, i.e., between, or forming part of, Auriga and Taurus.\* The description in the Tablet well applies to stars slightly north of the Moon. "The constellation of the Chariot" is thus quite distinct from "the constellation of the Chariot-yoke."

In W.A.I. III, liii, No. 1, Rev. l. 33, the kakkab Entenamasluv (= Entemasmur, sup., p. 328) is said to be "fixed behind" (Kakkab sa arki-su izu-zu) Eratu ("the Pregnant-woman"), or else behind Sugi, I think behind Eratu. Now, Entenamasluv is Star No. XXI, in the Tablet of the Thirty Stars, and this Akkadian name was rendered (not translated) in Assyrian by Etsen-tsiri† ("the-Tip-of-the-Tail"); and, as I have shown,‡ it will be certain, stars near the tip of the tail of Hydra, including the star 20 Libræ, the γ of the 'unformed' stars around the Claws of Ptolemy. Hommel regards

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Epping, Astron. aus Bab., pp. 121-2.

<sup>†</sup> The Akkadian equivalent for Etsen-tsiri is Gis-kun ("Heaven-tail"), a name which would be perfectly applicable to the constellation.

<sup>1</sup> Vide Proceedings, February, 1890, pp. 195-6.

Entemasmur, which he reads as In-tinnina-bar-shigga, as meaning at times Denebola ("the Lion's Tail," Dzeneb-al-ased, \(\beta\) Leonis), and at other times Deneb (i.e., Dzeneb, "the Tail," a Cygni). But, we are not entitled thus to divide Entemasmur; nor, if Sugi = Orion (as Hommel supposes, vide sup. p. 327) does it appear how either Denebola or Deneb could be said to be 'behind' Orion, or behind any star near Orion. In any case Deneb, a star far north of the ecliptic, is out of the question.

From the combination of the foregoing considerations I think it will follow that the constellation of the Chariot-yoke = a and  $\beta$  Librae, Zuben-el-genubi ("the Southern-claw") and Zuben-el-chemali ("the Northern-claw"). Nor can there be much doubt that, on account of sugi, "the (Chariot) Yoke," the constellation was called in the West Zvyov,\* "the Yoke," the Lat. Jugum,† for both sound and sense agree in the identification. Zvyov, a secondary meaning of which is "the beam of the balance," as that which joins the scales, thus became the sire of the constellation Libra. I have noticed ± that Achilleus Tatios, in a Fragment preserved by Petavius, speaks of τας Χηλάς, τας καλουμένας όπ' Αίγυπτίων Ζυγόν. That the Egyptians borrowed much star-lore from Euphratean regions is certain. Bertin thought that they devised a Zodiac of 12 signs out of the 30 stars, and Prof. Hommel has recently given much attention to this subject,|| but it is one into which I cannot enter here. There is no suggestion that the Sugi-stars were very bright, but, when they were clear the crops were good (l. 16); and, similarly, the astrologers describe Libra as "rather a fruitful Sign."

- \* Of course I do not mean that the Greek word ζυγὸν is derived from the Akkadian sugi.
- † So Cicero: "In Jugo cum esset Luna," or, as our Tablet søys, Sin ina libbi kakkabi Sugi (l. 15). The Sign reappears in the borrowed astronomy of India as Juka, and "in an Irish hand of the 9th century on fol. 16b of the Karlsruhe codex of Beda's De Temporum Ratione, as zichos" (Ap. Whitely Stokes, in the Academy, January 5, 1884). Geminos, cir. B.C. 77, uses the form Zυγὸς.
  - ‡ Proceedings, January, 1890, p. 145.
  - § Uranologion, edit. 1630, p. 168.
- || Vide his Die Astronomie der alten Chaldüer, iii, 10, and his paper at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists (September, 1892), Der babylonische Ursprung der äegyptischen Kultur.

Hommel places the constellation *Udkagaba* (sup. p. 328), which he renders "Throat-opening-beast," either in the region of *Lepus*, or in the comparatively starless space occupied by the modern constellation the *Unicorn*, between the two *Dogs*. I will merely observe that, in the abstract, this view appears to me to be in the highest degree improbable for a variety of reasons; but the question is decided by *Tablet S.* 162, Ob. (Fig. 1) which gives this constellation as next *Girtab* ("the Scorpion"), and as specially connected with the 9th month and the Sign *Sagittarius*.

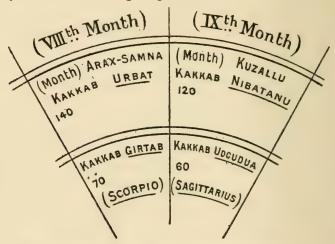


Fig. I. Fragment of Euphratean Planisphere.

The name Y - Y is transliterated *Utucagaba* by Prof. Sayce, who translates it "the Light-of-the-white-face," whilst Mr. Pinches reads *Ud-gu-du-a*, "the Flowing(?)-day." In the *Tablet of the Thirty Stars* we find *Nibatanu* placed next to *Udgudua* (Rev. l. 42), as in *Tablet S.* 162, and we read:—

Kakkab Ud - gu - du - a = Yu-mu na - ah - ri.

The-constellation of-the-Smiting-sun-face = The-day of-dawn.

The phrase yumu nahri must = nahru sa yumi (\*\*), "the dawn of day." The constellation-name, however read, appears to be formed of words meaning 'Sun'+'face'+'smite'+ the participle-form a, and the rendering I suggest is also exactly suitable to stars

in Sagittarius, the original Sagittary being the Sun, who smites from his face with his arrowy rays,\* and the As. yumu nahri = 'sunrise,' is a very good translation of the Ak. constellation-name. We thus get rid of the "Rachen öffnenden Bestie," the "schnappender oder brüllender ûmu" of Hommel; and can leave the poor  $Hare\ (Lepus)^{\dagger}$  to the Dog alone, as usual.

#### III.

The Tablet K. 2310.—Rev. This Tablet, a copy of which is given in the Proceedings, March, 1888, is perhaps peculiarly difficult to translate, especially since not a single line is perfect; the rendering in parts, therefore, is necessarily somewhat tentative, and will doubtless ultimately be improved upon.

The-constellation of-the-Bow . . . .

The Bab. form = the As. ( kastu, the constellation in question, in Ak. Ban, being the Bow-stars of Sagittarius (vide Proceedings, March, 1891, p. 267, Fig. XVII), otherwise described as the Stars of Anunit and Sinuntu (vide Ibid., April, 1892, p. 298), and forming Star (= Constellation) No. XXXVIII, of the Thirty Stars (vide Ibid., February, 1890, p. 203). Similarly, Aratos§ calls Sagittarius simply the Bow (Togov),

A correct restoration of the constellation-name in line 1, enables us to understand the difficult expression "the head of the god," *i.e.*, of *Sagittarius*, "the god" being originally Nergal, || whose arrows slay, like those of the solar Apollôn, and who is constellationally

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Proceedings, January, 1890, p. 145.

<sup>†</sup> As to Lepus in Euphratean regions, vide R. Brown, Jr., Eridanus, pv. 10, 11. As to the Kakkab Urbat ("the Constellation of the Beast-of-death") of the Planisphere (Fig. 1), vide Proceedings, February, 1890, p. 202. In the Tablet of the Thirty Stars Urbat is similarly next to Girtab.

TVide Amiaud et Méchineau, Tableau Comparé, No. 145.

<sup>§</sup> Phainomena, 623, 664-5.

<sup>||</sup> Vide Proceedings, April, 1892, p. 298.

reduplicated. Further, we may observe from the Tablets as well as from actual representations, that many of the constellation-forms were like our own, e.g., Sagittarius and Capricorn had 'heads' (vide 1. 5), as with us; and, again, if the Bow were a single star, e.g., Sirius, as several writers suppose, what would be the sense or meaning of the expression "head of the god," as applied to it?\*

Ina libbi: This phrase (vide sup. p. 324) has probably one or more astronomical meanings; the word libbu, Heb. , signifies primarily 'heart,' and hence is used in the sense of "the midst," but, when applied to a star or constellation, it frequently signifies "in its (own) place" (ina lib-su; cf., l. 14), i.e., its proper place in the heavenly array, in accordance with kosmic harmony and order. Here, however, we have to decide what is meant by "the midst." In IV.A.I. III, liii, No. 1, l. 18, we read, Guttav ina libbi izzaz, "Jupiter in the midst is fixed;" and in IV.A.I. III, lii, No. 3, Ob. l. 58, we read, "the star Tiranna" (vide sup. p. ) ( ki-i-libbi, "according-to the midst," "is bound" ( ) Here, the Pole-star (whatever star may then have been Polaris) is represented as being fixed immovably, and in some way with reference to "the midst" of the heavens. It was not itself in the midst, being enthroned at the northern extremity.

3. ... Kakkab Lu-bat an-a libbi dixu...
... the-star Jupiter to the-midst (is) opposite...

Line 4 is similar. Here we see that *Jupiter* which at times "in the midst is fixed," may at other times be "opposite; to the midst." In considering such questions it is frequently of assistance to refer to archaic Greek astronomy which, as a whole, is chiefly represented

<sup>\*</sup> That Kastu = the Bow-stars of Sagittarius, vide W.A.I. IV (2nd edit.), lii, A., l. 11; Sayce, Rel. Ancient Babs., 509; R. Brown, Jr., in Proceedings, March, 1891, pp. 270-1.

 $<sup>+ \</sup>coprod$  and  $\coprod$  both = rakasu, "to bind." Cf. the dictum attributed to Eudoxos: "Est verro stella quaedam in eodem consistens loco, quae quidem polus est mundi." So, the Moon  $- \coprod$   $\longleftrightarrow$  (W.A.I. III, li, No. III, l. 2), "in enclosures is fixed."

<sup>‡</sup> As to the meaning of  $di\chi u$ , vide sup. p. 318.

by Aratos; and in this instance we shall at once find a solution of the difficulty. Speaking of the Ram, Aratos says:—

"In midst\* of the vast heaven he moves, just where The Claw-tips and Orion's head† revolve." ‡

"Just where" means in the same division of the heaven. i.e., the ecliptic; hence, "in the midst"=(1) in the ecliptic, and (2) in some special part of the ecliptic, e.g., that point connected with the beginning of the year. "The Claw-tips" = Sugi (vide sup. p. 331). The statement "Jupiter to the midst (is) opposite" (l. 4) being repeated, implies at least two distinct observations of the same phenomenon, and refers to the apparently stationary position of Jupiter (vide l. 8).

It will be remembered that "the constellation of the *Goat*" (Ak. Uz)="the top of the head of the constellation of the *Goat-fish*," $\S$ = those stars of *Capricorn* which Ptolemy calls

- a. "The northern-one of the 3 in the hindmost horn."
- v. "The centre-one of them."
- $\beta$ . "The southern-one of the 3."

It will now be observed that the Tablet is specially concerned with the planet Jupiter, and with certain (i.e., "the head") stars in Sagittarius and Capricornus. The head of Sagittarius is "in the midst," and Jupiter is "opposite to the midst;" the Goat is opposite to something, and (apparently) "in the midst," although, the line being broken off, the reading may possibly be "in its place." Taking the Bow (l. 1) as the starting point of these astronomical observations, and the particular quarter of the heavens upon which the scribe's attention is fixed, we see that "the midst"=the portion of the ecliptic occupied by the adjoining constellations Kastu and

<sup>\*</sup> Μεσσόθι = ina libbi.

<sup>†</sup> For the reading κεφαλή instead of ζώνη, vide R. Brown, Jr., The Heavenly Display, p. 82.

<sup>‡</sup> Phainomena, 231-2.

<sup>§</sup> Vide Proceedings, January, 1890, p. 145.

Enzu. Having observed the Bow-stars, the scribe's eye is naturally (on astrological principles) directed to the opposite sideof the heaven, where, apparently in the dark constellation of the Ram, he sees the brilliant Jupiter, "opposite to the midst," i.e., to the part of the heavens occupied by the Bow-stars. His eye, returning from E. to S.W., falls on the Goat next to Sagittarius, and so he continues that "the Goat is opposite," i.e., to Jupiter, and, being next to Sagittarius, is "in the midst."

Padani û saruri ina bar-qu;

The-plains and the-heavens-bright with lightning (are);

Which is a saruri in a bar-qu;

The-plains and the-heavens-bright with lightning (are);

the-Moon waxes....

Saruru="the bright firmament" (vide Trans., iii, 297). As to barqu, vide Proceedings, March, 1891, p. 257. So, in Classical Calendars, such as the Eisagôgé of Geminos,\* there are occasional notices of thunder and lightning in connexion with certain stars and constellations. Thus, on the 16th day of Sol in Sagittarius, Geminos says (Lat. version);—"Aquila oritur simul cum Sole, et insuper significare solet tonitru et fulgur."† In the Tablet, lightning is connected with the stormy Goat.

7. HAN ((( EVEL + SI) A)

Ultu Sina agu ûl ab - ru.

From the-Moon a-halo does not pass away.

The Ak. ega, in As. agu, means primarily "a crown." Abru, Heb. עבר.

So, in W.A.I. III, lvii, No. 3, we read:—

I. \ \(\lambda\(\lambda\) \rightarrow \\ \text{Sin} \] ina namuri-su aga ippir.

The-Moon] at its-appearance a-halo put-on.

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Proceedings, April, 1892, p. 293.

<sup>†</sup> Vide Ibid., p. 294.

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gabli sam - e - su - va

the-midst of-its-heaven; and

9. | Style - Y El - Y L W - II - IV

Kakkab izarrix - va tsiriur-su  $\chi a$  - mut in - a

The-star (Jupiter) rises, and at-its-rising moves in

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zar - rak - ki - su . . . . its-rising . . .

Neix, Heb. נוּהַ. Xamut, cf. Heb. הָמָה.

Here we have two very interesting astronomical observations of the planet, and which record the actual fact that its rate of progress appears to be different at different times (vide sup. p. 320). The Tablet apparently contains observations made on the nocturnal sky of July, and from it I came to the conclusion that Jupiter was then in Aries (vide sup. p. 336). I have since come across the following passage in Landseer's Sabaan Researches, p. 239, which admirably illustrates the Tablet generally, and the scribe's remarks upon *Jupiter*. Landseer is attempting to expound a passage in Hêrodotos (ii, 42). and observes:—" Jupiter's fabled reluctance is aptly explained by the occasional seeming retrogradations of that planet, even in the course of its actual advancement. Of this we had, not very long ago, in the heavens themselves an ocular instance, and which took place in this very sign Aries." It would, therefore, seem that the "ocular instance" to which he refers, was an almost exact repetition of the circumstances described in the Tablet. Smyth\* gives a very curious instance, in which to himself and to two other observers, all three being at different stations, and "the moon being nearly full [cf. ]. 6, 7], and the evening extremely fine," Jupiter "seemed to jump back."

<sup>\*</sup> Cycle of Celestial Objects, 1844, Vol. I, p. 184.

Ultu Samsi nazu - zu; izarri $\chi$  - va yumi

From the-Sun it-is-fixed; it-rises, and at-day-break

pidhna-su ana asri ....

its-path to the-station ....

Supposing we take the same date for the observations recorded in the Reverse of this Tablet as for those of the Obverse, i.e July 10, B.C. 2000,\* at midnight we shall obtain stellar conditions exactly suitable. Jupiter is stationary ('fixed') in Aries in the eastern sky, "in the midst of its sky" (l. 8) Aries being μεςςοθι (sup. p. 335) and "from the Sun," i.e., on the opposite side to the setting Sun. The lacuna renders the meaning of the latter part of the line somewhat uncertain. Jupiter is called Guttav ("Bull-of-the-Sun," vide sup. p. 325), which "is explained by the As. pidhnusa-same, 'the furrow of heaven,' i.e., the ecliptic, to which Jupiter is near;"† and here pidhnu, the 'yoke' or 'furrow,' of heaven = the ecliptic-path, on which Jupiter proceeds to some 'station,' a technical term. This connexion between Guttav and pidhnu, explains why in Greeko-Babylonian astronomy, Aldebaran, "the Bull's Eye," part of the \( \subset \), Gut-an-na (W.A.I. III, liii, No. 1, Rev. l. 15), or "Bull-of-heaven," is technically known as Pidhnu.§

The text of l. 11 appears to be doubtful in part, so I omit it.

Ina sam - e û irtsi - tiv - va nabu - u û

In heaven and earth also it-is-propitious, and

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Proceedings, April, 1892, p. 292.

<sup>†</sup> Sayce, in Transactions, III, p. 170.

<sup>‡</sup> Asru. Vide Proceedings, February, 1890, p. 204, and cf. IV.A.I. III, li, No. 3, Rev., l. 18: Asri miki, "the Places of setting."

<sup>§</sup> Vide Epping, Astron. aus Babylon, 121.

13. . . . . . SEX-Y W( ) SEX-Y EY Y .... Kakkab Xa-dis (û) kakkab Ma-dis adannu .... The-star 'Gladly' (and) the-star 'Greatly' at-eventide <Y- <Y- .... innamaru . . . . are-seen ....

Mr. Pinches has suggested this reading of these two star-names, which perhaps were conventional names for Venus and Jupiter. The passage is very interesting, as an extremely early instance of that name-jingle "in which Orientals, more especially Arabs [and therefore their Semitic kinsmen of the Euphrates Valley delight, e.g., Abil and Kabil for Cain and Abel."\* We are, of course, at once reminded of the  $K\rho\hat{\omega}\phi_{i}$  and  $M\hat{\omega}\phi_{i}$  of Herodotos (ii, 38), with respect to which Prof. Sayce makes the above remark. On the passage in Hêrodotos, Sir J. G. Wilkinson observes, "The names Crophi and Mophi are like the unmeaning words used in joke, or in the nursery, by Orientals, at the present day; the second repeating the sound of the first, and always beginning with m, as 'fersh mersh,' 'salta malta." On the same passage Canon Rawlinson remarks, "The formation of unmeaning words by means of a rhyming repetition, together with a change of the initial letter, is common in our own language. With us the second word begins ordinarily not with m, but with the labial nearest to m, viz., b, or with its cognate tenuis, p.... In hugger-mugger, and pell-mell,† we keep to the Oriental usage and employ the m.t Some such formations may be 'unmeaning,' but these two examples are not more unmeaning than the words xadis and madis.

Ak. bara, = YY > YYY > a-dan-nu (vide IV.A.I. III, li, No. VII. 3), "a season," "more especially 'the season of evening."

14.	 · ##	> 1	-樹丁	₹Y	EY.		
	 u	ina	lib - su	izzaz -	va .		
		in	its-place	is-fixed,	and		
τ5.	 . #	<b>#</b> >	W	$\bowtie$			
	 . asli		$\chi$ amsa	illak (?)			
	 . double	e-hours	five	goes (?)			

<sup>\*</sup> Sayce, Herod., 138.

<sup>†</sup> I.e., "stirred up with a shovel" (vide Skeat, Etymol. Dict. in voc.).

<sup>‡</sup> Hist. of Herod., ii, 31. § Sayce, in Transactions, III, p. 227, note. 339

The Ak.  $\not\Leftrightarrow$  , kas-bu ("double-hour") = As.  $\not\Leftrightarrow$   $\not\Leftrightarrow$   $\not\Leftrightarrow$   $\not\Leftrightarrow$   $\not\Leftrightarrow$  as-li (vide W.A.I. III, xxix, E, l. 20), originally a measure of 60 cubits; as a time-measure it = 2 hours or 60°. Thus, in W.A.I. III, li, No. 2, we read of the nycthemeron at the vernal equinox:—

- Yu-mu vâ mu-si
  The-day and the-night
- Sit ku lu

  Were-balanced;
- IV. W kas bu yu mu
  Six double-hours (was) the-day,

I have thus endeavoured to give an explanation as well as a translation of the Tablet, for the latter alone, even if correct, would be altogether insufficient to enable the reader to understand the real purport of the observations recorded.

Remarks on Fig. 2.—As to Hamal (a Arretis), vide Proceedings, March, 1891, p. 249.

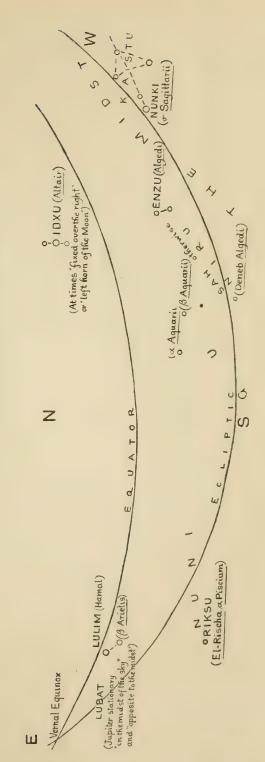
The vernal equinox fell at  $\beta$  Arietis tem. Hipparchos, B.C. 145.

Riksu.—The Ak. Dur-χames ("Cord-of-the-Fishes"), Okda ("the Knot." Vide Proceedings, Feb. 1890, pp. 180-1). The Northern Fish Χαλδαΐοι καλοῦσιν Ἰχθὸν χελιἐονίαν (Schol. in Aratos, Phai. 241). The Sign Nuni ("the Fishes") is called Zib in the Greeco-Babylonian astronomy (vide Proceedings, March, 1891, pp. 269-70).

Gu.—The Sign Aquarius (vide Ibid. p. 268). Prof. Lacouperie, as I noticed, compares the Ak. gu with the old Chinese yu, "a vasefull"; but a nearer allied form is found in the Yenissei  $k\hat{u}$ , "a

Fig. II. Star-map in illustration of Tablet, K. 2310, Rev.

(Portion of the Midnight Sky as seen from Babylon, July 10, 15.C. 2000.)





vessel," and probably other allied forms are the Turkic qa-b, Tchagatai ka-b, Kottic ha-m, whilst the As. is  $k\hat{a}$ , and the Heb. ka-d, all meaning a 'pitcher' or 'jar,' and here, of course, Gu = the 'Urn' of Aquarius.

Sah, sahu,="the Ibex," and is the Sign Capricorn, also called Niru ("the Yoke"), in Ak. Munaχa ("the Goat-fish." Vide Proceedings, Jan., 1890, p. 145). Enzu ("the Goat")= the Ak. Uz. As to Nunki ("Prince-of-the-Earth") vide sup. p. 317; as to Kastu, vide sup. p. 333.

#### IV.

The star Sibzianna.—The importance of this star, which I have already had occasion to mention (vide sup. p. 323), makes every reference to it worthy of careful notice. The tutelary divinity of the 10th month, Dhabitu (Tebet), is the obscure Papsukal, "attendant of Anu and Istar," "lord of bliss," "lord of the earth," and husband of "the queen of copper."\* In the famous story of the Descent of Istar to the Underworld, it is Papsukal, "the messenger of the mighty gods," who informs the Sun-god of the woe wrought upon earth by the departure of the goddess, he being evidently in some special way a guardian of the earth. As pap='male,' 'youth,' "to defend," and sukal, 'messenger,' we may render the name Papsukal by "Guardian-messenger." Now whatever Papsukal may have primarily represented, it is clear that in a stellar aspect he is identical with Sibzianna-Arcturus, the heavenly shepherd-guardian, 4th in magnitude of the stellar host and brightest star N. of the ecliptic; for, in W.A.I. III, liii, No. 1, Rev. ll. 26-8, we read: -Kakkab the god Pap-sukal," and Sibzianna, as I understand the passage, is stated to be "fixed after" the kakkab ( , or "star of Merôdax, i.e., Dilgan-Capella.† And this is perfectly true; for, if we take the heaven-circle and treat it circularly, there is no special star between the brilliant Capella, 6th in magnitude of the starry host, and Arcturus. The Lynx, Little Lion, Hunting-dog, and Tresses cover a comparatively dark portion of the heavens. Now, in one place Papsukal is called Ugur ["the Falchion]t, the usual name of Nergal; \$

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Transactions, III, p. 170.

<sup>†</sup> Vide Transactions. III, p. 171.

<sup>‡</sup> Vide Sayce, Rel. Ancient Babs., p. 196.

<sup>§</sup> Sayce, in Transactions, III, p. 170.

and we are told that one of the weapons of Merôda $\chi$  in his contest with Tiâmat was the  $\xi \xi \gamma + \xi \zeta \gamma + \xi \gamma$ , mul-mul-la, which Fox Talbot rendered 'falchion,'\* and which Prof. Sayce, in his latest reading, renders 'club.'† In translating the Tablet of the Thirty Stars, l. 26, I followed Talbot, and rendered the passage, "The falchion (mul-mul-la), the weapon of the hand of Merôda $\chi$ ." Bertin rendered mulmulla, "the Shining-one"; and it will be noticed that the mulmulla here alluded to is composed of stars. I observed that "the ideograph is star+star+the phonetic prolongation la," and that mulmulla="the very bright one."

We find, therefore, in this connexion (1) the Warrior-sun (Merôdax, the destroyer of Tiâmat), armed with the saparu, xereb, harpê, "portentous sickle," "sickle-shaped sword," 'falchion,' or 'scimetar,' † i.e., the lunar crescent, and who appears in borrowed Greek myth as Perseus ("the Destroyer"); and (2) the usual stellar reduplication-forms, as (a) the constellational Perseus, and (b) the stellar phase of Papsukal, who, Perseus-like, is a "Guardian-messenger," and, as Sibzianna-Arcturus, a weapon of light, shepherds the starry host, and would go to the Sun-god in the unseen world and inform him, were kosmic harmony infringed.



<sup>\*</sup> Ibid., V, p. 15.

r Rel. Ancient Babs., p. 382.

<sup>‡</sup> Vide Proceedings, February, 1890, p. 184.

### THE STORY OF THE PEASANT.

### By W. MAX MÜLLER.

The tendency of the Egyptian "Story of the Peasant," lately treated by Mr. Griffith, is perceptible in the names of its two principal acting persons.

The first one is mentioned always as "that shti (pronounce sehiti), i.e., peasant" .\* Shti is not the hero's name (which, evidently, has been lost with the first lines of the story). Berlin II, (45) 75, 81 he is called "one of the shti (sehati)," and no proper name would be connected with pn, "this, that," at least not in this literary style.

These reasons prove also the alleged name of the second man to be a designation according to his occupation. He is called "that \*limiti" † i.e., "τέκτων, artisan, sculptor, carpenter, joiner," or generally "mechanic." He represents a class of the common people who, being townsmen in most cases, and proud of their skill, claimed intellectual superiority over the peasants.

The contempt of the townsmen for the rude and ignorant peasants has been the same in almost every country and every age, but it is especially remarkable in ancient Egypt. The Memphitic artists of the earliest period caricature the poor peasants and shepherds so exaggeratedly that some modern scholars could not believe

<sup>\*</sup> The pronunciation sehiti (not sehiti and still less sohit) is based upon Stern, Copt. Gramm., § 150. The Coptic form would be \*Cuit. Is Butler, verso 2, to be read shyti, or is it a mere mistake for the plural shtiy? Sohet is "meadow, field," furthermore the open and thinly populated "country;" see the note in my book Asiën und Europa, p. 30.

<sup>†</sup> See the collection of hieratic forms of the sign hm, Rec. trav., 9, 164. Butler, 22, 27, 31 and Berlin III, 4, 14, 16 prove best the correct reading, while Berlin II has reduced hm to three or four strokes. Berlin III, 4, 14 seems to give the more usual orthography hm-w, instead of hm-ti.

the victims of their sarcastic humour to be Egyptians.\* Our story tells us how a mechanic tried to swindle a peasant coming to market from the most remote and uncivilized part of the country. He expected that the stupid rustic would be unable to obtain justice in the court. But the wronged peasant showed not only courage and perseverance in his complaints before the magistrates, but also an unexpected eloquence by which he conquered his wicked adversary. The magistrates were even so delighted with the originality of his pleading, that they reported the miracle of a peasant "excellent of speech" (75) to the king.

The typical part of "that peasant" and "that mechanic"† has many parallels in other literatures, especially in those of mediæval Europe.

Mr. Max Muller has communicated to me by letter two additional improvements in the text of the Butler Papyrus: viz., line 29, T, "girdle," for T, and line 37 restore F. L. G.



<sup>\*</sup> See further references in the book quoted above.

<sup>†</sup> Butler, 20–21, seems to misunderstand these designations, but the passage is corrupted. One *rnf* seems incorrect, and the words s "son" and s "man" are to be separated.

# LETTRES DE TELL EL-AMARNA.

(7° Série).

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

I.

# RIB-ADDOU A KHAYAPAZI. . .

(Berlin, 72).

Le destinataire dont le nom ne se lit plus qu'en partie, est un adorateur d'Ammon, et par conséquent un égyptien. C'est de plus, à en juger par l'humble début de la lettre et par l'influence qu'on prête à Khayapazi..., un haut officier du Pharaon. Rib-Addou espère obtenir par son entremise un secours en hommes et en chevaux, contre les empiétements d'Arad-Asirta, père d'Azirou, qui menace la ville de Zoumour. En attendant l'arrivée du secours sollicité, il défendra la ville de Sigata et tiendra ainsi en échec son ennemi, homme méprisable, qui s'appuie sur des brigands.

Cette lettre est une des premières en date parmi celles de Rib-Addou. Celui-ci n'y paraît pas encore réduit à l'extrémité comme dans la plupart de ses autres messages.

- 1. (A-na) Ḥa-ia-pa-zi(?) . .
- 2. (um)-ma: \ Ri-ib--\ -Addu . . . .
- 3. A-na šipâ-ka am-ku-(ud).
- 4. ► A-ma-na ilu ša . . . .
- 5. ti-di-nu ur(?)-ka i-na
- 6. pa-nı šarri bi-lı-ka.
- 7. A-mur, at-ta amıl . . . . -ku.
- 8. I-di šarru, u i-na im (?)-ti-ka
- 9. iš-ta-par-ka šar-ru
- 10. i-na amil ḥazanu. A-na mi-nim
- II. ķa-la-ta u la-a
- 12. ti-ik-bu a-na šar-ri
- 13. u u-ma-ši-ru-na
- 14. șabi bi-ta-ti u

- 15. ti-il-ti-ku-na
- 16. >= Su-mu-ra? Mi-nu
- 17. | Arad-A-ši-ir-ta? Ardu,
- 18. kalbu. U i-il-ku
- 19. mat šarri a-na ša-a-šu.
- 20. Mi-nu ti-la-at-šu
- 21. u dannut? I-na amil daik dannut
- 22. til-la-at-šu. U
- 23. uš-ši-ru-na ni-ši-ta-pal
- 24. sišu u II C sabi imuki,
- 25. u i-zi-za i-na ►≒¶ Ši-ga-ta
- 26. i-di pa-ni-šu a-di
- 27. a-zi sabi bi-ta-ti;
- 28. u-ul i-pa-hi-ra ka-li
- 29. amiluti daïkani u
- 30. i-il-ka ► Ši-ga-ta.

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) A Khayapazi . . . , (2) en ces termes: [Moi] Rib-Addou . . , (3) a tes pieds je me prosterne. (4) Qu'Ammon le dieu de . . . . . . (5) te donne faveur (?) en (6) présence du roi ton maître. (7) Voici tu es un homme de ...., (8) le roi le sait, et en ... (9) le roi t'a envoyé (10) comme gouverneur. Pourquoi (11) te tais-tu, et ne (12) parles-tu pas au roi, (13) afin qu'il m'envoie (14) des soldats auxiliaires et (15) qu'ils prennent (16) la ville de Zoumour? Qu'estce (17) qu'Arad-Asirta? Un esclave, (18) un chien. Et cependant il prend (19) le pays du roi pour lui-même. (20) Qu'est-ce que sa grandeur (21) et puissance? (21, 22) Sa puissance et sa grandeur [résident] en des assassins [soudoyés par lui]. Et (23) qu'on envoie, nous le demandons humblement (?), (24) des chevaux et deux cents soldats. (25) Et je me tiendrai à Sigata, (26) en face de lui, jusqu' à (27) l'apparition des soldats auxiliaires, (28) pour qu'il ne rassemble pas tous (29) ses brigands, et (30) ne prenne pas Sigata . . . . . . . . . .

# REMARQUES.

Ligne 10.—Ina semble avoir ici le sens du Beth essentiae.

Ibid.—On peut hésiter entre la lecture *ḥazanu* qui transcrit l'idéogramme, Berlin, 129, l. 21, et *rabişu* (v. Brünnow, 5569) expliqué dans nos textes par le chananéen *zukinu*, hébreu biblique (E.D.,

gouverneur, inspecteur. Voir Bezold et Budge, The Tell el-Amarna tablets, p. XIII.

Ligne 11.— Ķalata, d'après le contexte, pourrait signifier aussi tu hésites, tu refuses.

Ligne 21.—Amil daïk, collectif. Pour la lecture et la signification, comparez Brit. Mus. 9, l. 19. Voir dans la précédente livraison, notre 6° série, N° II.

Ligne 27.—Azi, pour ași de așu, ici prodire, sens que le même verbe a souvent en hébreu.

Ibid.—Les soldats bi-ta-ti (et non kaštati, à cause des variantes pi-da-ti, Berlin, 102, verso l. 59, et bi-it-ta-ti, Brit. Mus. 37, l. 47), doivent être des archers, ou plus probablement des auxiliaires étrangers à la solde des Pharaons. Ce sens, comme l'origine égyptienne du mot, que je soupçonnais, est confirmé à mes yeux par la note suivante que M. A. Wiedmann a bien voulu rédiger pour moi, en vue des lecteurs étrangers à l'égyptologie:

"L'égyptien possède, pour dire arc, un mot 

pt ptt, dans les monuments de l'ancien empire 
pt ptt

(Pyramide de Mer-en-rā, !. 349, de Pepi Ier, l. 607) 

(Pyramide de Mer-en-rā, l. 338, Unas, l. 497; 

(Pyramide de Mer-en-rā, l. 338, Unas, l. 497; 

(Pyramide de Mer-en-rā, l. 338, Unas, l. 497; 

ptt ibid. II, 148 c). L'écriture hiéroglyphique n'exprime pas la voyelle à l'intérieur du mot, mais comme le nom copte correspondant, signifiant arc, ΠΙΤΕ (masc.), 

pt (fém.), ΦΗΤΤΕ (fem.), a un i, (le H de ΦΗΤΤΕ devant aussi se prononcer i comme le η grec à la période alexandrine), le mot égyptien se sera également prononcé pit, au féminin quelque chose comme pitit, ou piti, car la terminaison féminine it a perdu de bonne heure son t final dans beaucoup de mots.—La dernière consonne de la racine est t' (9, dans les transcriptions du sémitique ) plus tard t (τ), en copte t.

"De ce mot dérive particulière dans l'armée égyptienne, d'abord sans doute les archers, et ensuite, semble-t-il, les auxiliaires étrangers en général. Ces ptt, et notamment leurs chefs, sont souvent mentionnés, principalement dans les textes de la XIXº et de la XXº dynastie. Nous les voyons dans les forteresses de la frontière orientale du Delta (Pap. Anastasi, III,

6 verso l. 4, 7 l. 6), dans les postes auprès des puits dans la Palestine méridionale (Ibid. V, 11 l. 7), à Héliopolis (Ibid. I, 10 l. 1), en Ethiopie (Pap. Jur. de Turin V, l. 3,—Groupe de statues de Naples, chez Lieblein, *Dict. des noms*, n°. 905; cf. n°. 628, ("le préposé des Ptt et préposé des pays du sud." Voir également Lieblein n°. 236, 690, 870, 900, 997, 1169). Mais ce n'est pas seulement dans l'armée égyptienne qu'on signale ce genre de troupes; on nomme aussi plusieurs (n), chefs des pt, dans l'armée fédérale des Chéta qui se battit contre Ramsès II (Leps. Denkm. III, 165).

Lignes 31-35.—Nous avons omis ces lignes, les dernières de la lettre, comme trop effacées pour fournir aucun sens.

#### II.

# RIB-ADDOU AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(British Museum, 12.)

Rib-Addou gouvernait dans le principe, comme nous l'apprend cette lettre, outre Goubla ou Byblos, plusieurs villes et localités dans le Liban et la plaine maritime. Malgré la fidélité héréditaire de Goubla envers les rois d'Egypte, son chef, animé des mêmes sentiments, a été dépouillé de tout par Arad-Asirta; il vient de perdre les deux dernières villes qu'il possédait encore avec Goubla, et il s'estimerait heureux de garder, avec le secours de son maître, cette place, menacée elle-même par Arad-Asirta et ses alliés, volontaires ou forcés. Bien que les habitants de Goubla aient transporté leurs enfants dans le pays de Yarimouta, sans doute par mer et hors de la portée d'Arad-Asirta, les vivres leur font défaut, parce que leur terres sont en friche depuis trois ans. Les inspecteurs égyptiens se sont dérobés; un chef de brigands se verra bientôt maître d'une foule de territoires qui appartenaient au roi d'Egypte. Rib-Addou prend à témoin de la vérité de ses rapports, dont on s'est peu soucié jusqu'à présent, Abanappa, un fonctionnaire égyptien qui se trouve actuellement auprès du Pharaon.

La fin du document, assez mutilée, présente un sens trop peu suivi.

Pour cette pièce et les suivantes, comme pour celles qui forment notre série précédente (à l'exception du numéro V), on peut comparer nos versions avec les sommaires et les traductions partielles de Bezold et Budge dans l'introduction du recueil publié par le British Museum. Nous avons profité de ces indications et nous nous en sommes écarté suivant les cas.

- 1. Y Ri-ib-Ad-da ik-bi a-na bil matâti,
- 2. šar matâti, šarru rabu. šar ta-am-ḥa-ar: 🛶 bilit
- 3. ša Gub-la ti-di-in dannuta a-na šarri
- 4. bil-ia. A-na šipā bil-li-ia, \ Šamaš-ia,
- 5. VII-šu VII-a-an am-ku-ut. Lu-u i-di šarru
- 6. bilu i-nu-ma šal-ma-at -≥\ Gub-la, amat
- 7. ki-it-ti ša šar-ri iš-tu umi
- 8. ša ab-bu-ti-šu; u an-nu-uš i-na-an-na

[1893.

- 9. i-ti-zi-ib šar-ra maḥaz ki-it-ti-šu
- 10. iš-tu ķa-ti-šu. Li-da-gal šarru bil matâti
- II. ša bit a-bi-šu i-nu-ma u-ul arad ki-ti
- 12. niš-ši ša i-ba-aš-ši i-na ► Gub-la;
- 13. u-ul ta-ka-al-mi a-na arad-ka šum-ma
- 14. dannat nu-kur-tum ša sabi diktu ili, u
- 15. ilani 😭 . . . . , ga-am-ru marani-nu marâti
- 16. ķa-ab-nu i-(na) na-da-nim i-na mat Ia-ri-mu-ta;
- 17. i-na ba-(la)-ta napšati-nu, ikil-ia ina ša-ta
- 18. ša-(la)-aš-ta is-ši-il aš-šum ba-li
- 19. i-ri-ši; kab mahazi-ia ša i-na
- 20. šadi \ ha-ar-ri u i-na a-hi tamti
- 21. i-ba-aš-šu, in-ni-ip-šu a-na sabi diktu.
- 22. Gub-(la) ka-du II mahazani ir-ti-hu a-na ia-ši.
- 23. U an-nu-uš i-na-an-na il-ti-ki
- 24. \ Arad-a-ši-ir-ta 
  ∑\ Ši-ga-ta a-na ša-a-šu,
- 25. u ik-bi a-na niši ►∑\ Am-mi-ia: du-ku-mi
- 26. id-la-ku-nu, u i-ba-ša-tu-nu ki-ma ia-ti-nu
- 27. u pa-aš-ha-tu-nu; u ti-ni-ip-šu ki-ma
- 28. a-ma-ti-šu u i-ba-aš-šu ki-ma
- 29. amilut dikti. U an-nu-uš i-na-an-na
- 30. iš-tap-pa-ar \ Arad-a-ši-ir-ta a-na sabi
- 31. ina pit-ru-ka; ip-pu-hu-ru-nim-mi, u
- 32. ni-ma-ku-ma íli > [Y] Gub-la šum-ma í-n(a-an-na)
- 33. niš-ši-ša u-ši-zi-bu-ni iš-tu ķa-ti-(šu-nu).
- 34. U nu-da-nam amiluti ha-za-nu-ta iš-tu
- 35. lib-bi matâti u ti-ni-bu-uš ka-li matâti
- 36. a-na amilut dikti. U ki-tu ti-in-ma
- 37. a-na ka-li matâti u pa-aš-hu marani
- 38. u marâti-a da-ri-ti umi.
- 39. U šum-ma ap-pu-na-ma i-za-na šar-ru,
- 40. u ka-li matâtî nu-kur-tum a-na ša-šu,
- 11. u mi-na i-bu-šu a-na ia-ši-nu?
- 42. Ki-na-na ti-iš-ku-nu nam-ru a-na bi-ri-šu-nu,
- 43. U ki-na-na pa-al-ḥa-ti rabiš rabiš, i-nu-ma
- 44. (a)-nu-ma ia-nu amilu ša u-ši-zi-ba-an-ni
- 45. (iš)-tu ķa-ti-šu-nu. Ki-ma issuri ša

	46.	i-na lib-bi ḥu-ḥa-ri \ ki-lu-bi
	47.	ša-ak-na-at šubat-šu-ma a-na-ku i-na
	48.	► Gub-la. Am-mi-ni ta-ka-al-mi a-na mat-ka?
	49.	A-nu-ma ki-a-ma as-ta-pa-ar a-na ikal,
	50.	u u-ul ti-iš-mu-na a-ma-tu-ia.
	51.	A-nu-ma
	52.	šu-ut i-di u ia-ta-mar bu-uš
	53.	ša ili-ia; li-iš-mi šar-ru a-ma-ti ardi-šu,
	54.	u ia-di-na ba-la-ta ardi-šu,
	55.	u i-ba-li-it ardu-šu, u
	56.	a-na-za-ra it-ti-šu a-di ni nu
	57.	ilani-nu a u i-da
	58.	šu u ur a-na
	59.	u na ba-li-it ri
		i-na pa-ni šarri bil-ia i-ma-ši-ra
-	6т.	šu u i-ci-ic i-na-an-na u ak-šu-(ud)

- $61. \ldots$   $\tilde{s}u u i$ - $\tilde{s}i$ -is i-na-an-na u ak- $\tilde{s}u$ -(ud)
- 62. a-na-ku a-na ma-har šar-ri bili da-mi-ik it-ti-ka.
- 63. A-na ia-ši mi-na i-bu-šu-na? A-na-ku i-na
- 64. . . . . di-ni-ia; a-nu-ma ki-a-ma u-ba-u ur-ra
- 65. mu-ša.

MAY 2]

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) Rib-Adda dit au Seigneur des pays, (2) au roi des pays, au grand roi, au roi du combat : Oue la maîtresse (3) de Goubla donne puissance au roi (4) mon maître. Aux pieds de mon maître, de mon dieu Soleil, (5) sept fois, sept fois, je me prosterne. (5, 6) Le roi mon seigneur sait bien qu'elle [lui] est dévouée la ville de Goubla, la servante (7) fidèle du roi, depuis les jours (8) de ses pères; et voilà que maintenant (9, 10) le roi a abandonné sa ville fidèle. Qu'il ne croie pas, le roi seigneur des pays (11) de la maison de son père, qu'ils ne sont pas fidèles (12) les gens qui se trouvent dans Goubla. (13) N'aie point d'hésitation à l'endroit de ton serviteur (14) quand une force ennemie, formée de brigands, s'avance, et que (15) les dieux . . . . . tous nos fils (15, 16) et toutes nos filles sont déposés [ont dû être déposés] au pays de Yarimouta. (17) Quant à l'entretien de notre vie, mes champs (17, 18) durant trois ans ont été stériles (?) faute (19) de culture; toutes mes places, dans (20) la montagne et au bord de la mer, (21) se sont soumises aux brigands; (22) Goubla, avec deux [autres] places, me restaient. (23, 24) Et voilà que maintenant Arad-Asirta s'est approprié la ville de Sigata, (25) et qu'il a dit aux habitants d'Ammia: Tuez (26) votre maltre. vous serez comme nous, (27) et vous vivrez en paix. Et ils se sont soumis suivant (28) sa parole, et ils sont comme (29) les brigands. Et voilà (30) qu'Arad-Asirta a envoyé message à ses hommes, (31) en se révoltant contre toi. Ils se sont réunis, et (32) je serai bien content de la ville de Goubla, si maintenant (33) ses habitants me sauvent de (leurs) mains. (34) Les gardiens sfonctionnaires du roi d'Egypte] se sont mis hors (35) de [nos] cantons, et tous les cantons se sont soumis (36) aux brigands. Prends donc de justes mesures (37) envers tous les cantons; (37, 38) que [mes] fils et mes filles soient tranquilles à jamais. (39) Si le roi attend encore, (40) lorsque tous les cantons sont soulevés contre lui, (41) que nous fera-t-on à nous? (42) C'est maintenant que tu dois mettre la frayeur parmi eux. (43) Maintenant je crains très fort, car (44) voilà qu'il n'y a point d'homme qui puisse me délivrer (45) de leurs mains. (45-47) Comme des oiseaux dont la demeure est dans une cage, [ainsi suis-je] moi dans (48) Goubla. Pourquoi restes-tu inactif à l'égard d'un pays qui t'appartient? (49) Déjà j'ai envoyé pareil message au palais, (50) et tu n'as pas écouté mes paroles. (51) Voilà qu'Abanappa est chez toi, interroge-le; (52) Il connaît la vérité, et il a vu le .... (53) qui me presse. Que le roi entende le message de son serviteur, (54) qu'il accorde la vie à son serviteur, (55) et son serviteur vivra, et (56) je garderai (le pays du roi) (57-59)..... (60) On [l']admettra en présence du roi, (61) on le . . . . et il demeurera maintenant, et j'obtiendrai (62) faveur devant le roi mon maître, chez toi. (63) A moi que feront-ils [alors]? Je suis dans (64) mon . . . . Voilà que j'attends ainsi jour (65) et nuit.

# Remarques.

Lignes 9, 10.—L'expression que je traduis a abandonné, signifie à la lettre a lâché de sa main.

Ligne 10.—Nous voyons dans li-da-gal le précatif d'un verbe à sens négatif, d'après le contexte. Le d appartient-il à la racine, ou bien li-da-kal est-il écrit pour le t formatif après une première radicale gutturale devenue insensible dans l'assyrien?

Ligne 12.—Niš-ši, à lire niši, ši étant un simple complément phonétique.

Ligne 20.—4 constamment transcrit šadu dans les textes dits bilingues, n'est peut-être qu'un mot assyrien har-ris, mon-

tagne, de la même racine que *ḥaršan*, que l'hébreu דּוֹרֶשׁ, arabe בֹׁים, forêt.—L'assyrien est suivi dans notre passage d'une glose, *ḥarri*, en dialecte chananéen.

Lignes 25, 26.—Idla, maître, chef. Il est question, semble-t-il, d'un chef qui gouvernait la ville d'Ammia au nom de Rib-Addou.

Ligne 26.—A remarquer *ia-ti-nu*, signifiant *nous*, qui ne s'est pas, à notre connaissance du moins, rencontré jusqu'ici.

Ligne 32.—Nimaku, permansif kal de la racine נעם.

Ligne 33.— $Ni\vec{s}\cdot\vec{s}i=ni\vec{s}i$ , voir la note sur la ligne 12.

Ligne 33.—Ka-ti-(šu-nu), voir ligne 45.

Ligne 36.—Kitu tin (pour din), littéralement, juge justice.

Ligne 39.—Izana, d'après le contexte, doit signifier attend, hésite, ou impliquer ces idées.

Ligne 42.—Namru, frayeur, épouvante, comme le féminin namurrat, qui se rencontre fréquemment dans les inscriptions de Ninive.

Ligne 43.—Huhari, cage, avec la glose chananéenne kiloubi, hébreu biblique בְּלֹדָב .

Ligne 55.—Que le roi accorde la vie à son serviteur, c'est-à-dire, qu'il lui accorde le secours nécessaire pour s'en tirer la vie sauve.

#### III.

# RIB-ADDOU A ABANAPPA.

(British Museum, 15.)

Cette lettre écrite par Rib-Addou à un grand personnage égyptien qu'il appelle son père, c'est-à-dire son protecteur, a visiblement été écrite peu de temps après la précédente. Dans sa lettre au roi, Rib-Addou signale Abanappa comme un homme capable de le renseigner sur l'état des affaires en Palestine, qu'il a constaté par lui-même sur les lieux; dans sa lettre à Abanappa, il engage celui-ci à se présenter au roi et à lui demander des troupes pour venir avec elles rétablir l'ordre dans les parages de Byblos. Pour le décider plus sûrement, il l'instruit de changements survenus en Phénicie après son retour en Egypte, et après l'envoi de la lettre précédente, où il en aurait certainement parlé dans la supposition contraire. Les gens du pays d'Amouri se détachent d'Arad-Asirta, ils n'attendent que l'arrivée des troupes égyptiennes pour s'échapper de leurs villes, où ils sont

probablement maintenues par les bandes d'Arad-Asirta, et à se mettre à couvert dans une retraite sûre dejà occupée par une partie d'entre eux. Les gouverneurs ou inspecteurs au service du roi d'Egypte en Phénicie ont enfin reconnu les mauvaises intentions d'Arad-Asirta à leur égard et ses visées ambitieuses; ils ne désirent pas moins que Rib-Addou l'arrivée des auxiliaires égyptiens.

# TRANSCRIPTION.

- 1. A-na Y A-ba-an-ap-pa a-bi-ia
- 2. um-ma: Y Ri-ib-Ad-da i-ka-ba:
- 3. A-na šipā a-bi-ia am-ku-ut.
- 4. > Bilit ša Gub-la ti-din
- 5. ma-aš-ta-ka i-na pa-ni
- 6. šar-rí bil-ka. A-na mi-nim
- 7. ka-la-ta u la-a tak-bu
- 8. a-na šar-ri bil-li-ka
- 9. u tu-sa-na ka-du sabi
- 10. bi-ta-ti u ti-ma-ku-tu
- 11. ili mat A-mur-ri? Šum-ma
- 12. ti-iš-mu-na a-zi-mi șabi
- 13. bi-ta-ti u i-zi-bu maḥazani-šu-nu,
- 14. u pa-at-ru. At-ta u-ul
- 15. ti-i-di mat A-mur-ri i-nu-ma
- 16. a-šar da-an-ni ti-la-ku-na,
- 17. u an-nu-uš i-na-an-na
- 18. ul i-ra-a-mu a-na \ Arad-A-ši-ir-ta
- 19. i-na-na aš-bu-na a-na ša-šu-nu

#### 20. u tu-ba-u-na ur-ra

- 21. u mu-ša-am a-zi sabi
- 22. bi-ta-ti, u ni-ti-bu-uš-(mi)
- 23. a-na ša-a-ši; u ka-li
- 24. amiluti ha-za-nu-ti tu-ba-u-na
- 25. i-bi-iš an-nu-tum a-na Arad-a-ši-ir-ta,
- 26. i-nu-ma i-iš-ta-par a-na amilut
- 27. Am-mi-ia: du-ku-mi bil-ku-nu,
- 28. u in-ni-ip-šu a-na
- 29. amilut diktu. Ki-na-na ti-ik-bu-na
- 30. amiluti ha-za-nu-tum: ki-na-na
- 31. i-bu-šu a-na ia-ši-nu,

- 32. u ti-ni-bu-šu ka-li matâti
- 33. a-na amilut diktu. U ki-ba-mı
- 34. a-ma-tam an-ni-ta a-na pa-ni
- 35. šar-ri bil-li-ka, i-nu-ma
- 36. a-bu u bi-lu at-ta-ma
- 37. a-na ia-ši, u a-na ka-tam
- 38. pa-ni-ia na-ad-na-ti.
- 39. Ti-i-di pa-ar-za-ia
- 40. i-nu-ma i-ba-ša-ta i-na
- 41. Su-mu-ra, i-nu-ma
- 42. . . . . . . . it-ti-ka a-na-ku.
- 43. U ki-bi a-na šarri bi-li . . . . .
- 44. u tu-pi-da bi-la-tu . . . .
- 45. . . ia-ši ki-ma ar-ḥi-iš . . . . . .

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) A Abanappa mon père, (2) en ces termes: Rib-Adda dit: (3) Aux pieds de mon père je me prosterne. (4) Que la déesse de Goubla assure (5) ta faveur devant (6) le roi ton maître. Pourquoi (7) t'abstiens-tu et ne parles-tu pas (8) au roi ton maître, (9) afin que tu partes avec des hommes (10) de secours (?) et que tu tombes (?) (11) sur le pays d'Amouri? Quand (12) ils [les gens d'Amouri] apprendront la marche des soldats (13) auxiliaires, ils abandonneront leurs villes [les villes qu'ils occupent] (14) et se révolteront. (14, 15) Tu ignores, toi, que le peuple d'Amouri (16) a fait choix d'un lieu sûr; (17) et voilà que maintenant (18) ils ne s'attachent plus à Arad-Asirta; (19) actuellement ils se tiennent entre eux (20) et ils attendent jour (21) et nuit qu'apparaissent les soldats (22) auxiliaires, et que nous agissions (23) de cette sorte. Tous les gouverneurs [ou inspecteurs égyptiens] désirent (25) qu'on en agisse ainsi à l'égard d'Arad-Asirta, (26) depuis qu'il a mandé aux habitants (27) d'Ammiya: "Tuez votre maître," (28) et qu'ils se sont soumis (29) aux brigands. Dans ces circonstances, (29, 30) les gouverneurs ont dit: Ainsi (31) nous traitera-t-on, (32) et tous les cantons se soumettront (33) aux brigands. Dis donc (34) ces choses devant (35) le roi ton maître, puisque (36) tu es un père et un maître (37) pour moi, et que vers toi (38) je tourne mes regards. (39) Tu as connu mes sentiments (40) lorsque tu t'es trouvé à (41) Zoumour, lorsque (42) ..... avec toi .... moi. (43) Dis au roi ton maître ... (44, 45) et assure-moi la vie le plus tôt possible.

### REMARQUES.

Lignes 4, 5.—Mašta, faveur. Ce sens est pour ainsi dire imposé par le contexte. La phrase entière, qu'on traduirait littéralement : Que la déesse de Goubla donne ta faveur en présence du roi ton maître, correspond exactement à la formule hébraïque : בֵּיתַרְ הַפּוֹרָ

Ligne 7.—Kalata. Voir la note à la ligne 1 de la première lettre de cette série.

Ligne 12.—*Tišmuna*, 3<sup>e</sup> p. du fém. plur., au lieu du masculin. De même, l. 16, *tilakuna*; l. 20, *tubaüna*; l. 29, *tikbuna*; l. 29, *tinibušu*.

Ligne 20.—Attendent jour et nuit, formule qui se rencontre fréquemment dans nos lettres pour dire attendre avec anxiété.

# IV.

# RIB-ADDOU AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(British Museum, 13.)

Lettre postérieure, peut-être de beaucoup, aux précédentes. Azirou, et non plus son père Arad-Asirta ou Arad-Asratou, est le grand adversaire du gouverneur de Byblos; il lui a enlevé des hommes, il le cerne par terre et par mer. Tous les vaisseaux de Zoumour, de Beyrouth et de Sidon sont réunis au pays d'Amouri, la principauté d'Azirou, laquelle d'après cela confine à la mer. Un allié d'Azirou, Yapa-Addou, capture sur mer les vaisseaux de Byblos. Yapa-Addou est peut-être chef du pays de Yarimouta, (l. 54-59), où Rib-Addou avait jadis rencontré de meilleures dispositions, comme on le voit par la seconde pièce de cette série (l. 15, 16). Rib-Addou est dans une situation si désespérée que les gens de sa famille, à moins d'un prompt secours du roi d'Egypte, veulent faire défection, c'est-à-dire se rendre à Azirou, qui de son côté vante toujours sa fidélité envers le Pharaon. Rib-Addou s'en prend aussi aux inspecteurs égyptiens qui n'ont rien fait pour lui. Dans un passage très incomplet, il semble dire qu'il s'est rendu précédemment à Zoumour, et qu'il l'a quittée sans avoir rien obtenu. Il dit plus certainement ensuite qu'il a essayé en vain d'y faire parvenir un messager égyptien. Ce dernier est resté chez lui, et il le traite fort bien. Il semble qu'on l'ait accusé Rib-Addou de n'avoir

pas aidé, sans doute en lui fournissant vivres et escorte, un autre envoyé égyptien à parvenir au pays d'Alasiya. Puisque l'envoyé est de retour en Egypte, le roi n'a qu'à l'interroger.—Les dernières lignes de la lettre n'offrent plus assez de mots pour justifier un essai d'interprétation suivie.

On voit que les vaisseaux de Sidon, de Beyrouth, de Byblos, de Zoumour, sillonnaient dejà la Méditerranée à une époque si reculée. Il en était de même des vaisseaux d'Aradus qui se joignent à ceux d'Azirou pour assiéger Tyr (*British Museum*, 28, l. 58-63). Précédemment le roi d'Alasiya nous a appris qu'il commerçait par mer avec l'Egypte (*Berlin*, 12, l. 17; cf. notre 3e série, No. III); nous verrons que les vaisseaux d'Aradus poussaient aussi jusque-là, et l'on peut bien croire que les marins des autres villes de la côte phénicienne en faisaient autant.

- 1. (\ Ri-ib-Ad-da ik-bi a-na bil matâti,
- 2. šar matâti, sarri rabi,) šar ta-am-ḥa-ar:
- 3. bilit ša Gub-la ti-di-in
- 4. dannuta a-na šarri bil-ia. A-na ši-pâ
- 5. bil-ia, Šamaš-ia, VII-šu VII-ta-an
- 6. am-ku-ut. Lu-u i-di šarru bil-ia
- 7. i-nu-ma nu-kur \ A-zi-ru amiluti-ia,
- 8. u ṣa-bat XII amiluti-ia u ša-ka-an
- 9. ip-ti-ra bi-ri-nu L kaspi, u
- 10. amiluti ša-a uš-ši-ir-ti a-na
- 11. ► Su-mu-ra şa-ab-bat i-na
- 12. Tam-bu-li-ia. Ilapi amiluti
- 13. XII Su-mu-ri, XII Bi-ru-ta, XII Zi-du-na,
- 14. kab-bu i-na mat A-mur-ri mim-mu-šu-nu.
- 15. A-na-ku-mi nu-kur. U an-nu-u i-na-na
- 16. nu-kur \ Ia-pa-Addu it-ti \ A-zi-ri
- 17. a-na ia-ši. U al-lu-u șa-bat ilapi-ia?
- 18. U al-lu-u ki-na-na-ma i-ti-lu
- 19. i-na lib-bi tamti aš-šum șa-ba-at
- 20. ilapi-ia? U i-am-lik šarru
- 21. a-na maḥazi-šu u ardi-šu. U amilut
- 22. hu-ši-ia pa-ta-ra-ma tu-ba-u-na,
- 23. šum-ma la ti-li-u la-ka-am (?)

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	24. iš-tu ķa-at na-ak-ri-ia. U	
	25. ti-ra-ni a-ma-tam, u i-di	
	26. ip-ša ša i-bu-šu. A-nu-ma,	
	27. ki-ma aš (?)-pu-ru a-na ka-tam, ili	
	28. ►► Su-mu-ra a-nu-ma i-ti-lik,	
	29. u ta-ni şabi (?) a-na	
	30 u a-nu i-ti-zi-ib (?)-ši.	
	31 du u	
	32 ru a-nu-ma	
	33 mar ši-ip-ri	
	34. (uš)-ši-ir-ti-šu u aš-ta-ni	
	35. an (?)-ni-ta matâti u-ma-ši-ru-na,	
	36. u la-a i-li-u	
	37. i-ri-ba a-na ➤∑Y Su-mu-ra. Sa-ab-tu	
	38. ka-li ḥarrani a-na ša-a-šu,	
	39. a-na nu-kur ša íli-ia, u íli	
	40. ► Su-mu-ra šu-pur i-da-gal.	
	41. II arḥi a-ši-ib it-ti-ia, ili	
	42. ša-la (?)-an-ni i-pa-na. Ki-a-ma	
	43. arad ki-ti-ka ili a-ra-di-ka.	
	44. Šum-ma la-a ti-li-u la-ki arad-ka,	
	45. u uš-ši-ra sabi bi-ta-ti,	
	46. ti-il-ki-ni da-mi-ik-it-ta-ka.	
	47. A-ia-bu šarri nu-kur it-ia u amiluti	
	48. ha-za-nu na-ša-a i-ma-li-a	
	49. a-na ša-a-šu-nu. Ki-na-na-ma	
	50. ma-ri-iş rabiš a-na ia-ši.	
	51. Al-lu	
	52. Ša-al-šu šum-ma la-a mat A-la-ši-ia	
	53. uš-ši-ir-ti-šu a-na mu-hi-ka.	
	54. Mi-lik a-na arad ki-ti-ka aš-šu-u	
	55. iš-tu mat Ia-ri-mu-ta	
	56. tu-ba-li-tu-na amiluti	
	57. hu-bi-ši-ia. U an-nu-u	
	58. an-nu-u la-a ia-di-nu-šu	
	59. ¥ <i>Ia-pa-Addu</i> ; <i>a-la-ši-a</i>	
	60 na amilut ma-ṣa-ar- $(ti)$	
	61	
	$62, \ldots, ti \ldots ti$	

63 ḥa (?)
64
65 za-ia u ti-da-lu-na
66 ki-ti ša-ni-tum mi-lik a-na ia-ši
67 ḥa-za-na ša a-ra-du-ka i-na
68 ia i-ra-mu u a-mu
69 al-lu \ Ia-pa-Ad-du it-ti \ A-zi-ri

### TRADUCTION.

(1) (Rib-Adda dit au seigneur des pays, (2) au roi des pays, au grand roi), au roi du combat: (3) Que la déesse de Goubla donne (4) puissance au roi mon maître. Aux pieds (5) de mon maître, de mon dieu Soleil, sept fois, sept fois (6), je me prosterne. Le roi mon maître sait bien (7) qu'Azirou se livre à des actes d'hostilité contre mes gens. (8) Il a pris douze de mes hommes et fixé (9) entre nous, comme rançon, cinquante [sicles] d'argent, et (10-12) il a pris dans la ville de Tambuliya des hommes que j'avais envoyés à Zoumour. Les vaisseaux des gens (13) de Zoumour, Birouta [Beyrouth], Ziduna [Sidon], (14) tous ces vaisseaux, autant qu'il y en a, sont au pays d'Amouri. (15) Et moi, je suis l'ennemi. Et voilà que maintenant (16) Yapa-Addou, avec Aziru, se livre à des hostilités (17) contre moi. N'a-t-il pas [Yapa-Addou] pris mes vaisseaux? (18) Et maintenant [encore] ne monte-t-il pas (19) dans la mer pour prendre (20) mes vaisseaux? Que le roi pourvoie (21) à sa ville et à son serviteur. Les gens (22) de ma famille veulent faire défection, (23) si tu ne viens pas [nous] délivrer (24) de la main de mes ennemis. Donc (25) rends-moi réponse, pour que je sache (26) la conduite que j'aurai à tenir. Voilà que, (27) comme je te l'ai mandé, (27, 28) je me suis rendu à Zoumour, (29) et . . . . . . des hommes vers (30)..... et ainsi je l'ai quittée. (31)..... (32) . . . . . . . . (33) . . . . . . . le messager. (34) Je l'envoyai de nouveau. (35) Je le fis partir en ces jours-là, (36) et il ne s'avança point (37) jusqu'à entrer dans Zoumour. (37, 38) Tous les chemins étaient interceptés pour lui, (39) à cause des ennemis qui [tenaient la campagne] contre moi, (39, 40) et il renonça à la mission [reçue] pour Zoumour. (41) Il reste depuis deux mois chez moi, (41, 42) et prend place à notre table (?). Ainsi se montre (43) ton serviteur fidèle envers tes serviteurs. (44) Si tu ne viens pas délivrer ton serviteur, (45) envoie des soldats auxiliaires, (46) et sauve-moi

dans ta bonté. (47) C'est l'ennemi du roi qui me fait la guerre, et les hommes (48, 49) gouverneurs [royaux] sont responsables de ma détresse. Maintenant (50) il y a grande angoisse pour moi. (51) Amanma n'aurait-il pas fait son rapport (?) Demande-lui si (52, 53) je ne l'ai pas fait aller pour toi au pays d'Alasiya. (54) Pourvois à ton serviteur fidèle, pour que (55) du pays de Yarimouta . . . . (56) on nourrisse les gens (57) de mon peuple ; car (58, 59) cette faveur, Yapa-Addou ne l'accordera pas. (59-69) . . . . . . . .

# REMARQUES.

Ligne 17.—Al-lu-u, si fréquent dans nos textes, me semble correspondre à l'hébreu 🛪 🚉 . Serait-ce un emprunt au dialecte chananéen ?

Ligne 19.—Le mot *tamtu*, mer, est exprimé par le groupe idéographique [] 

[] 

[] dans la copie idéographique, au lieu de [] 

[] 

[] employé ailleurs. Cette variante, *a-ia-ba*, à lire les caractères avec leur valeur phonétique, au lieu de *a-ab-ba*, sera notée avec plaisir par les anti-suméristes.

Ligne 23.—Le verbe  $lakam = lak\hat{a}$  est employé ici au figuré comme l'hébreu ret et le latin *eripere*, qui ont le même sens fondamental.

Ligne 27.—Le texte autographié donne *išpuru*, avec un signe de doute pour *iš*. *Išpuru* pourrait aussi signifier *j'envoyai*, car nous avons signalé de nombreux cas de  $1^{ère}$  personne de forme iškun(u) dans nos textes.

Ligne 40.—Idagal, il omit, il abandonna. Sur ce mot voir n°. II, note à la ligne 10.

Ligne 46.—Da-mi-ik-it-ta-ka pour da-mi-ik-ta. Ou bien da-mi-ik it-ta-ka, pour it-ti-ka. Dans le dernier cas on pourrait traduire: "Prends-moi en faveur auprès de toi."—Nous traduisons tilki par l'impératif parce qu'il est coordonné, par u, à un impératif précédent, ussira.

Ligne 48.—Naša = porter, charger sur soi.

Ligne 50.—Maris rabis ana iasi, pour le tour et pour le sens comparez צר לִי מִאֹר.

Ligne 51.—Šanu, permansif conditionnel? Šanu serait-il employé dans le sens de raconter, répéter? Il est certain du moins que cette signification ne répugne pas au mot.

Ligne 57.—Le mot *hubiši* peut signifier famille, peuple, sujets, à ne considérer que ce passage.

#### V.

# RIB-ADDOU AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

# (British Museum, 16.)

La lettre roule sur le même sujet que les précédentes, mais donne quelques détails particulièrement intéressants. Les gens de Byblos, les parents de Rid-Addou, et notamment sa femme, c'est-à-dire, son épouse principale, d'après les derniers mots de la lettre, le poussent à se ranger derrière Azirou. Rib-Addou souffre de la disette. Mû par cette nécessité, il s'est rendu chez un certain Ammounira pour faire provision de blé. Cet Ammounira, on va le voir par ses propres lettres, est gouverneur ou cheik de Beyrouth. De retour à Byblos, Rib-Addou, si je ne me trompe, n'y retrouve plus sa famille, qui aura cherché un refuge ailleurs. Cette fuite expliquerait ce que dit Rib-Addou en terminant, savoir que deux de ses fils et deux de ses femmes sont tombés aux mains des ennemis du roi.

- 1. A-na šarri bil-ia,
- 2. um-ma: Ri-ib-Addu arad-ka
- 3. ibiri \ i-bi-ri ša II šipi ka.
- 4. A-na šipâ šarri bil-ia
- 5. VII u VII-ta-an am-ku-ut.
- 6. U lu-u i-iš-mi šarru bil-ia
- 7. a-ma-ti ardi-šu.
- 8. Amilut ৄ 🍴 Gub-la u bit-ia
- 9. u 🌣 aššat-ia
- 10. ti-ik-bu-na a-na ia-ši-ia:
- II. a-li-ik-mi arki
- 12. | mar Arad-a-ši-ir-ta,

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	13. u ni-bu-uš šal-ma bi-ri-nu.	
	14. U í-ma-í a-na-ku	
	15. la-a iš-mi a-na ša-šu-nu.	
	16. Ša-ni-tum sap-ra-ti a-na šarri bil-ia,	
	17. u iš-ta-ni: uš-ši-ra-am-mi	
	18. amilut maşarta \ ma-şa-ar-ta,	
	19. a-na ardi-ka, u lu-u	
	20. ti-na-șa-ru maḥaza	
	21. a-na šarri bili. U la-a	
	22. ka-ši-id a-ma-tu	
	23. šarri bil-ia a-na ardi-šu.	
	24. śa-ni-tum, u in-ţu-um	
	25. i-za-ḥi-ra-am a-na ia-ši-ia(?),	
	26. u im-lu-uk iš-tu	
	27. lib-ia: a-li-ik-mi a-na-ku	
	28. i-bu-ba(?)-am tuka \ tu-ka	
	29. it-ti-šu ša ₹ Am-mu-ni-ra.	
	30. U al-ka-ti	
	31. a-na biti-šu aš-šum	
	32. i-bu-uš šad-ga bi-ri.	
	33. U a-na-ku a-tu-ur a-na biti-ia,	
	34. u id-du-ul bitu iš-tu	
	35. pa-ni-ia. U šarru bil-ia	
	36. i-im-lu-uk a-na ardi-šu.	
	37. A-nu-im-ma um u mu-ša	
	38. u-ķa-mu ṣabi bi-ta-at	
	39. šarri bil-ia. U šarru bil-ia	
	40. i-im-lu-uk α-na ardi-šu.	
	41. Šum-ma i-ia-nu libbu ša-na-am	
	42. ili šarri bil-ia, mit a-na-ku.	

- 43. U šarru bil-ia balat ardi-šu.
- 44. Ša-ni-tum II marani-ia u II 🔁 ašsât
- 45. na-ad-nu a-na amil ar-ni
- 46. ša šarru.

# TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi mon maître, (2) en ces termes: Rib-Adda, ton serviteur, (3) la poussière de tes deux pieds. (4) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, (5) sept fois et sept fois je me prosterne.

- (6) Que le roi mon maître entende (7) les communications de son serviteur. (8) Les hommes de Goubla et de ma maison, (9) et ma femme (10) m'ont dit: (11) Marche à la suite (12) du fils d'Arad-Asirta, (13) et faisons la paix entre nous. (14) Je m'y opposai, moi, (15) et je ne les écoutai point.
- (16) De plus, j'ai envoyé un messager au roi mon maître, (17) et j'ai réitéré, [en ces termes]: Envoie (18) des hommes de garde (19) à ton serviteur, et que (20) il garde la ville [de Goubla] (21) pour le roi seigneur. (21-23) Et aucune réponse du roi mon maître n'est parvenue à son serviteur. (24) Le blé aussi (25) diminuait chez moi, (26) et j'ai pris conseil de (27) moi-même, [je me dis]: J'irai moi, (28) je parlerai de mon mieux (29) avec Ammounira. (30) Et j'allai (31) chez lui pour (32) faire provision de blé. (33) Je retournai chez moi, (34) et la maison [ma famille] avait fui (?) de (35) devant moi. Que le roi (36) prenne des mesures en faveur de son serviteur.
- (37) Voilà que, jour et nuit, (38) j'attends les soldats auxiliaires (39) du roi mon maître. Que le roi mon maître (40) prenne des mesures en faveur de son serviteur. (41) S'il ne se produit pas d'autres dispositions (42) chez le roi mon maître, je suis mort, (43) car le roi mon maître est la vie de son serviteur.
- (44) Deux de mes fils et deux de mes femmes (45) ont été livrés aux sujets rebelles (46) du roi.

# REMARQUES.

Ligne 14.—I-ma-i, j'empêchai. Comparez le chaldéen 하다., Daniel, iv, 32.

Ligne 28.—Le groupe  $\Delta = \prod_{k=1}^{\infty}$  qui exprime d'ordinaire le mot tabu, bon, est transcrit ici tuka = tumka ou tunka, synonyme de tabu.

Ligne 32.—Šadga = šadka, forme shapel du verbe daku, rassembler.

Ligne 32.—Biri, hebr. ¬¬, blë

Ligne 38.—Ukamu ou bien ukavu, hebr. קנה.

VI.

# AMMOUNIRA AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(British Museum, 26.)

Ammounira, gouverneur de Beyrouth, était pour le moment allié, volontaire ou forcé, de Rib-Addou et adversaire d'Azirou, comme il ressort de la lettre suivante, et même déjà de la pièce précédente qui reflète les mêmes circonstances. Le roi d'Egypte s'est enfin décidé à secourir Rib-Addou, car c'est Rib-Addou, et non Ammounira, qui est le serviteur opprimé dont il s'agit à la ligne 38, car Ammounira est à l'aise chez lui. Le roi d'Egypte envoie un corps d'auxiliaires étrangers pour dégager Rib-Addou et il ordonne à Ammounira d'y joindre ses propres forces. Celui-ci accuse réception de l'ordre à lui adressé; il fait des vœux pour le succès du roi. Il s'anéantit, dans chaque phrase, aux pieds du roi. En fait d'humble obséquiosité, la présente lettre l'emporte sur la plupart des autres.

Beyrouth, comme l'a déjà fait observer M. Zimmern, est figuré par un groupe idéographique [17] [17], qui signifie la ville des puits, ce qui est censé expliquer le nom lui-même. Aujourd'hui encore, cette étymologie est en faveur à Beyrouth et en Syrie; elle est aussi donnée par Stéphane de Byzance au VIe siècle. Elle semble donc avoir cours depuis plus de 3,000 ans. Mais on la regarde généralement comme invraisemblable, parce que Beyrouth n'a qu'une eau peu abondante et de mauvaise qualité, et qu'on a été forcé d'y amener celle des fleuves voisins, celle du Magoras (Nahr-Beyrouth) à l'époque romaine, et celle du Lycus (Nahr-el-kelb) de nos jours. Toutefois le mot bir, ou beër, pluriel beërôt, peut signifier puits, citerne, fosse quelconque, et nous ne savons pas assez ce que Beyrouth possédait en ce genre du temps d'Ammounira et des rois de la XVIIIe dynastie égyptienne pour rejeter l'étymologie.

- 1. A-na ša šarri bil-ia, 🛶 Šamaš-ia,
- 2. ilani-ia, ša-ri balați-ia
- 3. ki țim-ma, um-ma: Am-mu-ni-ra
- 4. bil ► Biruta, ardu-ka u ibir-ra \ a-pa-ru
- 5. ša šipâ-ka.
- 6. A-na šipâ šarri bil-ia, ► Šamaš-ia, ilani-ia,
- 7. ša-ri balati-ia, VII u VI-ta-an

- 8. am-ku-ut. Ša-ni-tum iš-ti-mi
- 9. a-ma-ti . . . . . . ša šar-ri bil-ia
- 10. Šamaš-ia, ilani-ia, ša-ri ba-la-ti-ia ;
- 11. u ha-di lib ardi-ka u
- 12. i-bi-ri ša šipa šarri bil-ia,
- 13. Šamaš-ia u ilani-ia, sa-ri balați
- 14. rabiš rabiš, i-nu-ma a-ṣa-at
- 15. ša-ru-ta šarri bil-ia,
- 16. ► Šamaš-ia, ilani-ia
- 17. a-na ardi-šu u i-bi-ri ša šipâ-su.
- 18. Ša-ni-tum i-nu-ma ša-pa-ar šar-ru,
- 19. bil-ia, Šamaš-ia, a-na ardi-šu,
- 20. u i-bi-ri ša šipâ-šu:
- 21. Šu-ši-ir-mi a-na pa-ni
- 22. sabi bi-ta-at ša sarru bil-ka;
- 23. iš-ti-mi rabiš rabiš.
- 24. U a-na-nu-um-ma šu-ši-ra-ku
- 25. ka-du sisi-ia, u
- 26. ka-du narkabâti-ia, u ka-du
- 27. kab-bi mi-im-mi-ia 🍕 🟋
- 28. ša i-ba-aš-ša it-ti
- 29. ardi ša šarru bil-ia, a-na
- 30. pani şabi bi-ta-at ša šarru bilu,
- 31. u lu-u ti-ra-ḥa-aş sab ḥi-bi-ta-šu
- 32. ša sarru bil-ia, Šamaš-ia, ilani-ia
- 33. šir-ta-du amiluti a-ia-bi-šu,
- 34. u lu-u ti-mu-ru II îna ardi-ka
- 35. i-na balați ša šarri bil-ia.
- 36. Ša-ni-tum u a-mur, ša šarru bilu,
- 37. Šamas-ia, ilani-ia ša-ri balaţi-ia
- 38. tu-ti-ru gi-mi-li ardi-šu,
- 39. a-nu-um-ma a-na-ku, ardu ša šarru bilu,
- 40. u 🗲 kabasu ša šipa-šu
- 41. a-nu-um-ma li-zu-ru
- 42. maḥaza ša šarru bil-ia Y Samaš-ia
- 43. ša-ri ba-la-ti-ia,
- 44. u ḥar-ši \ ri-mi-tu
- 45. a-di i-mu-ru II îna

### TRADUCTION.

- (1) Au roi mon maître, mon Soleil, (2) mon dieu, l'arbitre de ma vie, (3) il est parlé en ces termes: Ammunira (4) le chef de Birouta, ton serviteur et la poussière (5) de tes pieds.
- (6) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, mon Soleil, mon dieu, (7) l'arbitre de ma vie, sept fois et sept fois, (8) je me prosterne. J'ai entendu (9) les ordres (très bons) du roi mon maître, (10) mon Soleil, mon dieu, l'arbitre de ma vie; (11) et il s'est réjoui le cœur de ton serviteur, (12) la poussière des pieds du roi mon maître, (13) mon Soleil et mon dieu, l'arbitre de ma vie, (14) [il s'est réjoui] grandement, grandement, lorsque vint (15) la décision du roi mon maître, (16) mon Soleil, mon dieu, (17) à son serviteur la poussière de ses pieds.
- (18-20) Lorsque le roi mon maître, mon Soleil, mon dieu, manda à son serviteur, la poussière de ses pieds: (21) Dirige-toi au devant (22) des soldats auxiliaires du roi ton maître, (23) j'ai écouté grandement, grandement.
- (24) Et voilà que je me dirige, (25) avec mes chevaux, et (26) avec mes chars, et avec (27) tout ce qui m'appartient, (28) [et] qui se trouve chez (29) le serviteur du roi mon maître, à (30) la rencontre des soldats auxiliaires du roi seigneur, (31, 32) et puissent les soldats de . . . . du roi mon maître, mon Soleil, mon dieu, répandre comme l'inondation (33) la frayeur parmi ses ennemis, (34) et que les deux yeux de ton serviteur contemplent (35) la victoire du roi mon maître.

# REMARQUES.

Ligne 2.—Šari, arbitre comme šarutu, l. 15, semble signifier décision.

Ligne 2.— Ce groupe est idéographique et doit se lire balatu, comme on le voit à la ligne 10. Cf. Brünnow, 1494 et 1546.

J'ai mal lu et par conséquent mal traduit cette expression au commencement de la lettre de Zimriddi (Berlin, 90), dans les Proceedings, t. XII, p. 317.

Ligne 4.— = bilu, bil, chef, Brünnow, 6401.

Ligne 4.—*Ibira* est accompagné de la glose chananéenne *aparu*, hébreu つうり.

Ligne 21.—Šušir, impér. shaphel de la racine Ti.

Ligne 33.—Širtadu, comparez l'hébreu בְּטֶב, terreur.

Ligne 35.—Balați, vie, est employé ici dans un sens figuré à peu près de la même manière que ישׁרּעָר, victoire. La racine assyrienne blt, synonyme de la racine hébraïque בלם, doit signifier proprement échapper de.

Ligne 40.— [ ] ( Le groupe des deux derniers signes expriment l'idée de fouler aux pieds, kabasu (Brünnow, 9206), et précédé du déterminatif [ il doit désigner l'instrument kabasu, makbasu, ou quelque autre dérivé.

#### VII.

# Ammounira au roi d'Egypte.

(British Museum, 27.)

Sur le même sujet que la lettre traduite ci-dessus. Ammounira éprouve la joie la plus vive d'avoir reçu une lettre, ou, comme il dit une tablette du roi d'Egypte. Sans négliger la défense de Beyrouth contre les surprises d'Azirou, il va se joindre avec les forces dont il dispose aux troupes du roi d'Egypte. Il nous apprend que Rib-Addou s'est réfugié à Beyrouth sous sa protection; et que les fils de Rib-Addou ont été livrés aux rebelles du pays d'Amouri par son propre frère qui l'a supplanté à Byblos. Ammounira confirme de la sorte les faits rapportés par Rib-Addou dans la lettre traduite au nº. V de cette série.

- 1. (A-na šarri . . . . . . . . . ša-ri ) balaţi-ia
- 2. (um-ma: Am-mu-ni)-ra ardu-ka,
- 3. ibiri \ i-bi-ri ša II šipi-ka.
- 4. A-na šipa šarri bil-ia VII u VII-ta-a-an
- 5. am-ku-ut. Ša(?)-ni-ta

- 6. (iš-ti-mi) a-ma-ti duppi ša uš-ti-šir-šu
- 7. (a-na ia-ši) šarru bil-ia; u in kinu-ta
- 8. iš-ti-mi a-ma-ti dup šarri bil-ia,
- 9. u i-hu-di lib-ia u
- 10. in-nam-mu-ru II îni-ia rabiš.
- 11. Ša-ni-tum a-nu-um-ma na-aṣ-ra-ku rabiš
- 12. u uz-zu-ru 🛌 🏋 🕼 Biruta
- 13. a-na šarri bil-ia a-di ka-ša-di
- 14. șabi bi-ta-ti šarri bil-ia
- 15. Ša-ni-tum a-na bili ►≒¶ Gub-la ša i-ba-aš-ša
- 16. it-ti-ia a-nu-um-ma i-na-za-ru-šu,
- 17. a-di i-im-lu-ku šarru a-na ardi-šu.
- 18. Ša-ni-tum i-il-ma-ad šarru bil-ia
- 19. í-bi-iš ahi-šu ša í-ba-aš-ša
- 20. i-na Gub-la, i-nu-ma na-da-(an)
- 21. marani sa \ Rib-Addu
- 22. ša i-ba-aš-šu it-ti-ia(?)
- 23. a-na amiluti ar-nu-ti ša (?)
- 24. šar-ri ša i-na mat A-mur(?)-ri(?)
- 25. Ša-ni-tum a-nu-um-ma šu-ši-ra-ku
- 26. ka-du sisi-ia, u . . . .
- 27. u ka-du narkabâti-ia, u ka-du
- 28. kab-bi mi-im-mi & Y
- 29. ša í-ba-aš-ša it-ti-ia,
- 30. a-na pa-ni şabi bi-ta-at
- 31. šarri bil-ia.
- 32. Ša-ni tum a-na šipā šarri bil-ia
- 33. VII u VII-ta-an am-ku-ut.

### TRADUCTION.

- (1) (Au roi . . . . . . . l'arbitre) de ma vie, (2) (en ces termes : Am-mu-ni)-ra, ton serviteur, (3) (la poussière) de tes deux pieds. (4) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, sept fois et sept fois, (5) je me prosterne.
- (6, 7) (J'ai entendu) les paroles de la tablette que m'a envoyée le roi mon maître. (7, 8) J'ai entendu avec fidélité les paroles de la tablette du roi mon maître. (9) Et mon cœur s'est réjoui et (10) mes deux yeux ont grandement brillé.

- (11) Maintenant je garde avec soin, (12) et je garderai la ville de Birouta (13) pour le roi mon maître, jusqu'à l'arrivée (14) des soldats auxiliaires du roi mon maître.
- (15) Quant au chef de Goubla qui se trouve (16) chez moi, maintenant je le garderai [veillerai à sa sûreté] (17) jusqu'à ce que le roi ait pris des mesures en faveur de son serviteur [Rib-Addou]. (16) Que le roi mon maître apprenne (19) la conduite de son frère [du frère de Rib-Addou] qui est (20) dans la ville de Goubla, [à savoir], qu'il a livré (21) les fils de Rib-Addou, (22) qui est chez moi, (23) aux sujets rebelles du (24) roi mon maître, au pays d'Amouri.
- (25) Maintenant je me dirige (26) avec mes chars, et .... (27) et avec mes chevaux, et avec (28) absolument tout (29) ce qui m'appartient [en fait d'hommes, etc.] (30) à la rencontre des soldats auxiliaires (31) du roi mon maître.
- (32) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, (33) sept fois et sept fois, je me prosterne.

# REMARQUES.

Ligne 15.—Bili. Sur cette lecture, voir n° VI, note à la ligne 4

#### VIII.

# Azirou au Roi d'Egypte.

(British Museum, 35.)

Voici une des pièces les plus intéressantes du dépôt de Tell el-Amarna.

Azirou, se trouvant naguère en Egypte, s'est parfaitement lavé, devant le roi, des accusations qui pesaient sur lui; il continue néanmoins d'être en butte à la calomnie, et il prie le roi de ne point prêter l'oreille aux délateurs. Le roi reproche à Azirou de n'avoir pas reçu Khani, son messager, alors qu'il en usait tout autrement envers un messager du roi de Khatti; Azirou répond par trois fois à cette plainte de son suzerain, et toujours faiblement.

D'abord, lorsque arriva Khani, Azirou était à Tunip, au sud d'Alep, ainsi loin de chez lui, car le pays d'Amouri, son pays, confinait à la Méditerranée, dans les parages de Batroun ou de Tripoli; il avait quitté Tunip à la nouvelle de la venue du messager, et ne l'ayant plus trouvé chez lui, il avait marché sur ses traces, sans pouvoir l'atteindre. Au reste les frères d'Azirou et un per-

sonnage du nom de Bitil ou de Bitian avaient parfaitement reçu Khani; ils l'avaient pourvu de vivres, au nom d'Azirou, pour la route, c'est-à-dire, à en juger par l'ensemble de la lettre, pour le retour en Egypte.

En second lieu, Azirou n'aurait jamais à ce point manqué d'égards pour Khani, qui l'avait reçu lui-même en Egypte avec la bonté d'un père et d'une mère. L'absence d'Azirou n'a donc pas été préméditée comme le prétend le roi.

Enfin, comment celui-ci peut-il croire qu'Azirou, gouverneur d'un pays soumis à l'Egypte, eût moins bien reçu le mandataire du Pharaon que l'agent du roi de Khatti. Que le messager du roi d'Egypte revienne, et Azirou lui fournira vaisseaux, armes, et autres objets, suivant la promesse qu'il en a faite au roi lors de son voyage en Egypte.

D'après cela, la messager égyptien avait été chargé d'une œuvre pour laquelle Azirou promettait son concours. Azirou avait dû l'attendre, et son absence paraissait justement équivoque.

Chemin faisant, Azirou se justifie d'un autre reproche. Malgré l'ordre reçu, il n'avait point rebâti la ville de Zoumour, ruinée sans doute par lui-même dans une de ces guerres qui armaient constamment les cantons syro-palestiniens les uns contre les autres à cette époque. Mais Azirou a été occupé à la défense de son territoire contre les rois du pays de Noukhassi, instigués par Khatib, que nous voyons ailleurs marcher la main dans la main avec Azirou (Berlin, 38, cf. notre Azirou, Proceedings, t. XIII, p. 227). Azirou promet de s'exécuter sans délai et de rebâtir Zoumour, tout en montrant, semble-t-il, la difficulté de l'œuvre. Khatib, dit-il, s'est emparé de la moitié des ustensiles, ainsi que de tout l'or et de tout l'argent envoyé, à cet effet probablement, par le roi d'Egypte.

Au total, Azirou n'a pas la conscience nette aux yeux de son suzerain; il cherche évidemment à le tromper.

- 1. A-na šarri rab-bi bil-ia ilu-ia ► ¥ Šamaš-ia.
- 3. VII-šu u VII-šu a-na šipi bil-ia ilu-ia Šamaš-ia am-kut.
- 4. Bil-ia a-na-ku Em ardu-ka u i-na-ga ga-ti-ia
- 5. a-na pa-ni šarri bil-ia, u ak-ta-bi
- 6. kab-bi a-ma-ti- ---ia a-na pa-ni bil-ia.

- 7. Bil-li-mi, a-na amiluti sa-ar-ru-ti
- 8. ša-i-ga-lu-u-nim ķar-și-ia
- 9. a-na pa-ni šarri bil-ia la-a ti-ši-im-mi-i:
- 10. a-na-ku-mi E ardu-ka a-di ta-ru-ti.
- 11. U aš-šum Ĭ Ḥa-an-i šarru bil-ia ik-ta-bi,
- 12. bil-ia i-na Tu-ni-ip aš-pa-ku,
- 13. u la i-ti-i i-nu-ma ga-ši-id;
- 14. im-ma-ti-i-mi-í i-ši-im-mi
- 15. u í-ti-il-li i-na ar-ki-šu
- 16. u la-a a-ga-ša-ad-šu.
- 17. U li-ik-šu-u-ud Y Ḥa-an-i
- 18. i-na šul-mi, u li-iš-al-šu
- 19. šarru bil-ia ki-i-mi-i u-ta-na-pal-šu
- 20. aḥi-ia u \ Bi-ti-il : iz-za-zu-nim
- 21. a-na pa-ni-šu; alpi, karani (?) u issuri
- 22. akala-šu šikari-šu i-din-nu-num.
- 23. sisi imiri a-ta-din
- 24. a-na ḥarran-ni-šu. U šarru bil-ia
- 25. a-ma-ti-\ ---ia li-iš-mi:
- 26. i-na a-la-ak-ia a-na muh-hi šarri bil-ia
- 27. Y Ḥa-an-i i-la-ak a-na pa-ni-ia,
- 28. U-ut-ta-na-ab-bal-ni ki-i-ma
- 29. 🞓 um-mi ki-i-ma a-bi
- 30. u i-na-an i-ga-ab-bi bil-ia:
- 31. iš-tu-mi pa-ni | Ḥa-an-i
- 32. ti-ir-ta, ki-i-mi ilan-nu-ka
- 33. u Šamaš lu-u i-du-u-nim
- 34. šum-ma la i-na ► TY Tu-ni-ip aš-pa-ku.
- 35. Ša-ni-tum aš-šum pa-na-i-šu ša ►≒¶ Su-mur
- 36. šarru bil-ia ik-ta-bi, šarrani mat Nu-ḥa-aš-ši
- 37. na-ak-ru it-ti-a u maḥazani-ia
- 38. i-li-ik-ku-num i-na ➡ → bi-i \ Ḥa-ti-ib ;
- 39. u la u-pa-an-ni-ši; i-na-an-na
- 40. i-na ḥa-mut-iš u-pa-an-ni-ši.
- 41. U bil-ia lu i-ti-i i-nu-ma
- 42. mišlu-šu-nu ša u-nu-ti >>>> ša id-din

- 43. šarru bil-ia \ Ha-ti-ib i-li-ig-gi,
- 44. u hurașa u kaspa ša šarru
- 45. bil-ia id-din-an-ni kap-pa i-li-ig-gi
- 46. Ĭ Ḥa-ti-ib ; u bil-ia lu-u i-ti.
- 47. Sa-ni-tum ab-bu-na-ma šarru bil-ia
- 48. ik-bi: am-mi-i-ni-mi tu-ta-na-bal
- 49. Em mar sipri-ri šarri mat Ḥa-at-ti
- 50. u mar sipri-ia la tu-ta-na-bal?
- 51. U an-nu-u mat bil-ia u šar-ru
- 52. bil-ia iš-ku-na-an-ni
- 53. i-na amiluti ha-za-nu-ti.
- 54. Li-il-li-ga-am Ext mar šipri-ri bi-li-ia
- 55. u kab-bi ša ak-ta-bi a-na pa-ni bi-li-ia lu-u-din,
- 56. lašši (?) ≒ i-lapi, šamni, ≒ kakki, u . . . li-din.

### TRADUCTION.

- (1) Au grand roi, mon maître, mon dieu, mon dieu soleil, (2) en ces termes: Azirou ton serviteur. 3) Sept fois, encore sept fois, aux pieds de mon maître, mon dieu, mon dieu soleil, je me prosterne.
- (2) Ô mon maître, je suis ton serviteur, et ma main est pure (5) devant le roi mon maître, et je dis [avec sincérité] (6) toutes mes affaires en présence de mon maître. (7) Ô mon maître, aux hommes de calomnie (8) qui me décrient (9) devant le roi mon maître, ne prête point attention: (10) je suis ton serviteur à jamais.
- (11) Puisque le roi mon maître a parlé de Khani, (12) ô mon maître, je me treuvais à Tunip (13) et je ne savais pas qu'il était arrivé. (14) Dès que je l'appris je le suivis, (16) mais je ne l'atteignis point. (17) Que Khani arrive [en Egypte] (18) en bon état, et qu'il lui demande, (19) le roi mon maître, comment le regurent (20) mes frères et Bitil. Ils se tinrent (21) devant lui [à son service]; (21, 22) ils donnèrent des bœufs, différents vins (?), de la volaille pour sa nourriture et sa boisson. (23) Je lui donnai des chevaux et des ânes (24) pour son voyage [son retour].

Que le roi mon maître, (25) entende mes paroles: (26) lorsque je me rendis chez le roi mon maître, (27) Khani vint au-devant de moi; (28) il me reçut comme (29) une mère, comme un père; (30) et maintenant mon maître dit: (31, 32) "tu t'es détourné de devant

Khani," alors que tes dieux (33) et le dieu Soleil savent (34) si je n'étais pas à Tunip.

- (35, 36) Puisque le roi mon maître m'a parlé de la reconstruction de Zoumour, [je réponds:] les rois du pays de Noukhassi (37) étaient en guerre avec moi, (37, 38) et prenaient mes villes à l'instigation de Khatib, (39) et je ne l'ai pas rebâtie. Maintenant (40) je la rebâtirai en hâte.
- (41) Et que mon maître sache bien que (42, 43) Khatib a pris la moitié des ustensiles que le roi mon maître m'avait donnés; (44) et que l'or et l'argent que le roi (45) mon maître m'avait donnés, (45, 46) Khatib l'a tout pris. Que mon maître le sache bien.
- (47) Le roi mon maître de plus (48) a dit: Pourquois as-tu accueilli (49) le messager du roi de Khatti, (50) et n'as-tu pas accueilli mon messager? (51) Et cependant c'est ici le pays de mon maître, (52) et mon maître m'a rangé (53) parmi les gouverneurs. (54) [Mais] que le messager de mon maître vienne, (55) et tout ce que j'ai promis devant mon maître, je le [lui] donnerai; (56) je veux lui donner des . . . des bateaux, des huiles, des armes des . . .

# REMARQUES.

Ligne 4.—*I-na-ga=i-na-ka. Naku*, être pur, innocent, déjà signalé dans Berlin, 11, l. 12; voir notre 6° série, V.

Lignes 21, 22. Le signe lu dubitaviment *karani*, vins, désigne vraisemblablement une boisson, et doit correspondre à *šikari* dans la ligne 22, qui ne continue pas l'énumération, mais renferme une apposition aux objets énumérés l. 21.

Ligne 23.—Attadin, je donnai, bien qu'Azirou n'ait pas donné en personne; on a donné en son nom et suivant son intention présumée.

Ligne 35.—Pa-na-i=ba-na-i, comme u-pa-an-ni (l. 39, 40)=u-ba-an-ni.

Ligne 38.—Bi-i = pi-i, bouche.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 6th June, 1893, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (President). "The Book of the Dead."— Translation and Commentary (continuation).



# THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

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Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.

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BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.

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BUDINGER, M., De Colonarium quarundam Phoeniciarum primordiis cum Hebraeorum exodo conjunctis.

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\_\_\_\_ 2nd series, 1869.

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## VOL. XV. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.

Seventh Meeting, June 6th, 1893.

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TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1892-93.

Seventh Meeting, 6th June, 1893.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President, in the chair.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Die Sprache der Contracte Nabû-Nâ'ids (555-538 v. CHR.), Mit Berücksichtigung der contracte Nebukadrezars und Cyrus. Von K. L. Tallqvist. 8vo. Helsingfors, 1890.

From the Author:—Studien zu den Babylonische Texten, Heft VI B. Von. K. L. Tallqvist. 8vo. Helsingfors, 1892.

Babylonische Schenkungsbriefe, Transscribiert, übersetzt und Commentiert. Von. K. L. Tallqvist. 8vo. Helsingfors, 1891.

[No. cxvi.]

From the Author:—Degli Hittîm e Hethei e delle loro migrazioni, Ricerche di Archeologia Biblico-Italica..... Chap. 1. 8vo. Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J.

Estratto dalla Civiltà Cattolica, Serie xv. Vol. VI. 1893.

From the Author:—Graven in the Rock; or, the Historical Accuracy of the Bible Confirmed, etc., etc. Rev. Samuel Kinns, Ph.D., Jena. London. 8vo. 1893.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 2nd May:—

James Henry Barber, B.A. (Lond.), The Acacias, Grange Road, Sutton, Surrey.

W. E. Crum, Savile Club, Piccadilly, W.

Henry A. Harper, Cliff House, Milford on Sea, Lymington, Hants.

Miss S. C. Rucker, 4, Vanbrugh Terrace, Blackheath.

The Rev. J. Calhoun Newton, M.A., Dean and Professor of The Biblical Department, Kwansei Gatuin, Kobe, Japan, was nominated for election, and this being the last meeting of the present session, was, by special order of the Council, submitted to the meeting, and elected a Member of the Society.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Remarks were added by Jos. Pollard, Rev. R. Gwynne, Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. J. S. Moxly, F. D. Mocatta (*Vice-President*), Rev. Jas. Marshall, and Rev. D. Kinns.

A Paper was read by Theo. G. Pinches, on a Babylonian Decree that a certain Rite should be performed.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. Jas. Marshall, Rev. Dr. Kinns, and Mr. T. G. Pinches.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

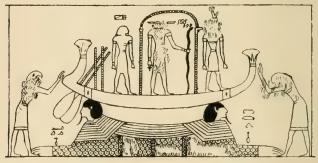


#### BOOK OF THE DEAD.



Tomb of Rameses IV. (Musée Guimet, Vol. XV, Plate 27.)

CHAPTER XV. Notes 3 and 9.



Tomb of Rameses IV. (Musée Guimet, Vol. XV, Plate 40.)



Tomb of Rameses IX. (Musée Guimet, Vol. XVI, Plate 6.)

CHAPTER XLI. Note 1.



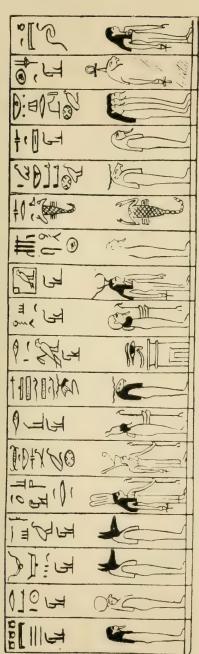
Tombeau de Seti I. (Musée Guimet, Vol. IX, Plate 34.)

CHAPTER XLVII.

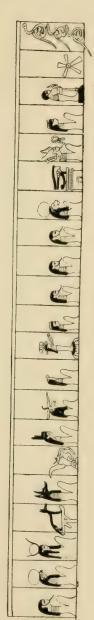


Leyden Papyrus, No. 16.

# BOOK OF THE DEAD. CHAPTER XLII.



Papyrus du Boulaq, 21. (Mariette Papyrus, Bd. III.)



Papyrus of Ani.





#### PLATE XVI.

#### BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER XLVII.



Papyrus of Ani.

CHAPTER L.



Nicholson Papyrus. (Ægyptiaca, Plate 5).

CHAPTER L.



Papyrus of Ani.

CHAPTER LVII.



Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9949

CHAPTER LVIII.



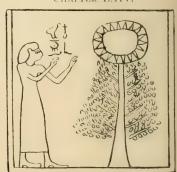
Papyrus of Ani.

CHAPTER LXI.



Papyrus du Louvre, 111, 93.

CHAPTER LXIV.



Papyrus du Louvre, 111, 93.

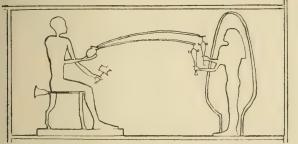
#### BOOK OF THE DEAD. CHAPTER LXVIII.



Papyrus du Louvre, 111, 93.



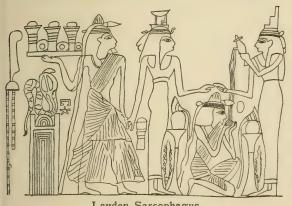
LANZONE (Diz. Egiz.).



Saquara. Lepsius (Denkm., Abth. III, Bl. 264).



LANZONE (Diz. Egiz.).



Leyden Sarcophagus.



WILKINSON (Mat. Hierog., Plate 23).



LEPSIUS (Todt., Plate 21).



LEPSIUS (Todt., Plate 23).



#### BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

#### CHAPTER LVII.

Chapter for breathing air and command of water in the Nether world

Let the Great One (1) be opened to Osiris; let the two folding doors of Kabhu (2) be thrown wide to Râ.

O thou great Coverer (3) of Heaven, in thy name of Stretcher (4) [of Heaven], grant that I may have the command of water, even as Sut hath command of force (5) on the night of the Great Disaster: grant that I may prevail over those who preside at the Inundation, even as that venerable god prevaileth over them, whose name they know not. May I prevail over them.

My nostril is opened in Tattu, and I go to rest in Heliopolis, my dwelling, which the goddess Seshait (6) built, and which Chnum raised on its foundation.

If the Sky is at the North I sit at the South; if the Sky is at the South I sit at the North; if the Sky is at the West I sit at the East; and if the Sky is at the East I sit at the West.

And drawing up my eyebrows (7) I pierce through into every place that I desire.

#### Notes.

This chapter and the following are recensions and combinations of extremely ancient texts.

The first portion of the present chapter follows the ancient text of Horhotep. Even at that early period two recensions were in existence, and are copied one after the other. The translation here given is the nearest possible approach to the original text.

The second portion (beginning with My nostril) dates from the papyri of the Theban period, though we must depend upon later authorities for the entire Section.

377 2 D 2

- 1. The Great One and urit—Heaven.
- 2. Kabhu 2 Ship mame, literally the Cool (water) is another name for the Sky,\* and is here in parallelism with the Great One.
- 3. Coverer \( \sum\_{\subset} \subseteq \sin \subseteq \subseteq \subseteq \subseteq \subseteq \subseteq \s
- 5. Force in, in, in, like the Latin vis, may, but need not, be of a criminal nature. The name of the goddess in this place is a manifest blunder of the more recent scribes.
- 6. The goddess Seshait commonly but erroneously called Safch, through an error against which Lepsius (Aelt. Texte, p. 3) and Brugsch (Zeitschr., 1872, p. 9) have both spoken. The real name of the goddess, as I have elsewhere† shown by actual variants, is Seshait (Teta, l. 268) or Chouvre, A. 97). She is so called from the root , writing, that being one of her occupations.
- \* The name occurs repeatedly in the Pyramid Texts, and even the very expression e.g. Unas, 375, and the Litany at Pepi I, 631.
- + On some Religious Texts of the Early Egyptian Period in Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. IX, p. 303.

#### CHAPTER LVIII.

Chapter for breathing air and command of water.

Let the door be opened to me!

Who art thou? What is thy name?

I am One of You!

Who is with thee?

It is the Merta.

Turn away then (1) front to front, on entering the Meskat. (2)

He grants that I may sail to the Abode of those who have found their faces.

Collector of Souls is the name of my Bark, Bristler of Hair is the name of the Oars, Point\* is the name of its Hatch, Right and Straight the name of the Rudder.

The picture of it is the representation of my glorious journey upon the Canal.

Give me jars of milk and cakes and flesh meat at the House of Anubis.

If this chapter is known he entereth after having gone out.

#### Notes.

The 58th and 122nd chapters are reproductions of the same text, the earliest copy known being that of Ani.

- 1. Turn away then. Merta as we have seen is the name given to the goddess pair Isis and Nephthys. It is therefore not possible to account for the masculine pronoun as having reference to Merta.

  must be taken in the sense of ideo, ideirco, then, therefore.
  - 2. Meskat, or according to another reading Meschenit.

#### CHAPTER LIX.

Chapter for breathing air and command of water.

Oh thou Sycomore of Nut, give me of the water and of the wind which are within thee.

It is I who cherish that abode which is in Heracleopolis, I watch over that Egg of the Great Cackler. My strength is the strength thereof, my life the life thereof, and my breath the breath thereof.

<sup>\*</sup> All this part is corrupt.

#### Notes.

On the mythological tree in heaven which produces both wind and water, that is the rain-cloud, see my Egyptian Mythology, particularly with reference to Mist and Cloud, in Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. VIII.

The same kind of imagery is still current in Europe. German authorities tell us about the 'Wetterbaum,' which in some places is called 'Abraham's Tree,' in others, 'Adam's Tree.' The Yggdrasill myth is supposed to have the same origin. The Rainbow is the heavenly Mountain Ash of a well known Swedish and Esthonian riddle. The water from heaven was supposed in Egypt to be especially refreshing for the dead.

#### CHAPTER LX.

#### Another Chapter.

Let the doors of Heaven be open to me, let the doors of Kabhu be thrown wide to me; by Thoth and by Hapu, the great Coverer of Heaven, at daybreak.

Grant ye that I may have the command of water even as the mighty Sut had the command of his enemies on the Day of Disaster to the Earth. May I prevail over the Long-armed ones in their corners, \* even as that glorious and ready god prevaileth over them, whose name they know not. May I prevail over the Long-armed ones.

#### CHAPTER LXI.

#### Another Chapter.

I, even I, am he who proceedeth from the Weeper (1), and whose attribute is Overflowing. (2) I (3) have the command of it as Hâpu.

#### NOTES.

- 1. The great Weeper is primarily Heaven, and it is so in this place. The Nile god who proceeds from it also bears the same name.
- \* The four cardinal points; the Eastern and the Western , and the Southern and the Northern .

- 2. Overflowing:
- 3. I. The original is in the third person; in reference to "he who proceedeth," &c.

#### CHAPTER LXII.

Chapter whereby water is drank in the Netherworld.

Let the Great One be opened to Osiris; let the Kabhu be thrown wide to Thoth, the Coverer, Lord of the Horizon in his name of the Divider of the Earth.

May I have command of the water even as the might of Sutu had over his enemies.

It is I who traverse the Heaven:

I am Râ:

I am the god in Lion form:

I am the Steer; (1)

I eat the haunch, and pierce through the joint.\*

I go round the Sechit-Aarru.

There hath been assigned to me Eternity, without end.

And lo! I am the Heir of Endless Time, and my attribute is Eternity.

#### Note.

smau, a solar title frequent in the Pyramid texts. His mother, Heaven, is called , or (as the name is written Teta 359) , and by a play upon words Unas, 493.

<sup>\*</sup> The sacrificial offerings A and .

This Egyptian goddess was  $\bigcirc$  , a principal deity at Enchebit, she had the White Crown and the wig with two plumes. She is described as having drooping dugs, and as suckling her son. Cf. with this information from Unas the whole chapter beginning with line 283 of Pepi I.

#### CHAPTER LXIII A.

Chapter whereby one is not burnt with fire, but drinketh water in the Netherworld.

O Bull of Amenta! let me be borne to thee!

I am that Rudder of Râ, wherewith he conveyeth the Ancient (1) ones.

I am not burnt, I am not consumed.

I am Babai, the eldest son of Osiris, who striketh the eye of every god (2) in Heliopolis.

1 am the Heir, the primary power of motion and of rest (3).

I have made firm my name, and have preserved it that I may have life through it.

#### CHAPTER LXIIIB.

Chapter whereby one is not boiled in water.

I am that ready Rudder wherewith Râ conveyeth the Ancient ones, and I raise the effluxes (4) of Osiris to the Tank from flames impassable; a wrecked one, (5) but not to be consumed.

I lie helpless as a dead person, (6) and I arrive at the lair of the Lion who defieth slaughter, . . . (7) following the road by which I set out.

#### Notes.

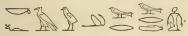
The Chapters 63A and 63B are united into one in the later MSS. without any other division than , indicative of a different reading. None of the early papyri contains both chapters. The text of 63B is extremely corrupt, and without rational interpretation.

I. I am that Rudder of Râ, wherewith he conveyeth the Ancient ones. This passage is twice found in Horhotep (311 and 329), the word for Rudder being written

2. Who striketh the eye, . The peaceful determinative may perhaps be intended to diminish the force of the very expressive in the verb of striking. But I believe that this passage may fairly be illustrated by the words of Lucretius IV, 324 and following:—

Splendida porro oculi fugitant vitantque tueri, Sol etiam caecat, contra si tendere pergas. Praeterea splendor quicumque est acer adurit Saepe oculos ideo quod semina possidet ignis Multa, dolorem oculis quae gignunt insinuando.

a modern sound, but they express the sense of the original,



4. Effluxes,  $\sum_{\infty}$ , the  $i\chi\omega\rho$ , the vital sap, as it were, of the body of Osiris, which is the source of life both to men and to gods,\* and in default of which his own heart (Unas 12) would cease to beat. It is celebrated in all the mythological texts extant from the time of the Pyramids down to the latest inscriptions of Denderah and Edfu, and even in Demotic documents.† All moisture was supposed to proceed from it, and the Nile was naturally identified with it.

In the Pyramid texts (Pepi 66) is put in parallelism with is put in parallelism.

5. A wrecked one. So I understand from Chapter 125, 38, but the whole context here is so doubtful that no translator who respects himself would warrant the sense.

<sup>\*</sup> In one of the ancient chapters preserved in the tomb of Horhotep, the deceased, speaking in the person of Horus, talks (319) of quenching his thirst with the  $\bigotimes_{i=1}^{\infty} \bigvee_{j=1}^{\infty} \bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}$  of his father Osiris.

<sup>†</sup> See a very interesting passage in Pap. Rhind 4, 4, with Brugsch's translation.

6. I lie helpless like a dead person. & , heft is the condition of an infant on the knees of its nurse. And I understand in its well known euphemistic application to the dead.

7. is the most probable reading here, but it is a hapax legomenon with nothing in the context to explain it.



#### THE GODS AKAR AND SEB.

#### By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

In order to understand the nature of the god Akar, we have to imagine a tunnel starting from the spot where the sun sets, and extending through the earth as far as where the sun rises. Each end of the tunnel has a sphinx-like form. A humanheaded lion stands at the entrance and also at the terminus. It is through the paws of this double sphinx that the galley of the Sungod enters on the Western horizon and comes out on the Eastern.

Now the Pyramid texts of Pepi I (line 72) mention "the two gates of Akar" as synonymous with "the two gates of Seb."

The picture taken from the tomb of Rameses IX has an inscription which also identifies Akar with Seb as keeping guard over those whom the Earth covers.

Although Akar is specially connected with the two opposite ends the Earth and the dark passage between them, whilst Seb is most frequently mentioned with reference to cheerful phenomena, there is nevertheless a very striking conception of the Earth which is common to both.

<sup>\*</sup> The same picture occurs in the Tombs of Rameses VI and Tauser. In the picture belonging to the Tomb of Rameses IX the god is in the form of a Scarab enclosed in a ring, and represented over the tunnel.

<sup>+</sup> See Bonomi, Sarc. 2, D. 35, where appears in parallelism with See also lines 42 and 43, and note the form

[1893.

This fully explains the equation of ===  $\int$  and of the group  $\int$  so frequent in the Ptolemaic inscriptions. It is because  $\int$  is a *tibia* that = is used as its equivalent.

The Greek word  $\sigma \hat{v}\rho \nu \gamma \xi$  is used not only in the sense of a pipe, but of any covered passage, such as the galleries of the royal tombs at Thebes.

It is worth remarking that the wedge  $\searrow$ , which so commonly accompanies as a determinative, is also found as a determinative of the divine name  $\searrow$   $\searrow$   $\searrow$ . Is this the *tooth* by which the subterranean passages, mines, caverns and the like have been created?

The subterranean journey of the Sungod through the twelve hours of the night forms the subject of a book, considerable portions of which are inscribed on the walls of the royal tombs and upon coffins, as well as upon papyri; the text being in great part an explanation of the pictures. The most complete account of it is contained in M. Maspero's Hypogées royaux de Thèbes, published in the Revue de l'histoire des Religions, in the year 1888.

M. Maspero, however, does not consider the journey as subterranean but as made round the horizon.

\* Perhaps Whistler or Hisser.



# LA LUMIÈRE ZODIACALE ET SA REPRÉSENTATION SUR LES MONUMENTS ÉGYPTIENS.

PAR H. BRUGSCH.

### (Note Supplémentaire.)

Lorsque je rédigeai la note relative au mot et au signe hiérogly-phique pour désigner la lumière zodiacale et reproduite dans le dernier numéro des *Proceedings*, c'était les textes eux-mêmes qui me guidaient dans mes recherches et dont le langage clair et net, à ce qu'il paraît, ne laisse rien à désirer. J'ai gagné, grâce à eux, la pleine conviction que la lumière en question a été parfaitement connué aux Egyptiens, qui l'ont observée déjà à l'époque de la construction des pyramides, et qui l'ont désignée par un mot et par un signe en correspondance avec sa forme particulière d'un triangle. C'est avec le plus grand plaisir que j'ai vu Mr. Le Page Renouf se ranger de mon opinion, et le jugement flatteur que ce savant si distingué a prononcé au sujet de la valeur scientifique de mon observation, a corroboré grandement ma propre conviction à ce sujet.

Il y a un autre point à mettre en profit quant à l'exactitude de mon opinion. Il regarde la question si les monuments égyptiens ont conservé quelque part de véritables représentations de la lumière zodiacale dans sa forme triangulaire? Nous connaissons, sous ce rapport, un nombre très considérable de représentations du lever du soleil et de son coucher qui se trouvent ainsi figurées :



L'image est tellement intelligible que je n'ai rien à y ajouter, peut-être encore la remarque qu'il est entré comme signe particulier dans le système hiéroglyphique pour marquer la clarté et la splendeur du soleil.

Je me suis rappelé que j'ai trouvé dans le temps des représentations, quoique bien rares, du même genre, cependant avec la différence que le rond du soleil y est remplacé par *un triangle*. J'attribuais si peu de valeur à cette observation que j'oubliais parfaitement d'en prendre note. Etant assuré plus tard par mes études que le triangle avait parfois la valeur astronomique de la lumière zodiacale, j'ai repris de nouvelles recherches aux fins de rencontrer un beau jour les pistes perdues.

J'ai été assez heureux de découvrir le premier exemple dans une publication de notre collègue, Mr. Ernest Schiaparelli. Dans son travail qui porte le titre: Il Significato Simbolico delle Pyramidi Egiziane (Roma, 1884), l'auteur s'occupe, à la page 7 suiv., des petites pyramides funéraires, les soi-disant benben, qu'on découvre parfois dans les tombeaux près du sarcophage d'un mort. Il fait la juste remarque que les scènes sculptées sur ces monuments et illustrées de textes hiéroglyphiques font reconnaître, en général, le soleil à son lever et à son coucher auquel le défunt adresse des louanges. "Finalmente," continue-t-il, "nella faccia orientale di una piccola piramide del museo di Torino, vedesi rappresentata nell' alto una piramide che sorge fra due monte (fig. A), e sotto ad essa il



Fig. A.

defunto *Consu*, che la sta adorando insieme ad altre persone della sua famiglia, rappresentazione parallela a quella del sole nascente (O), che vedesi ripetuta sulla maggior parte degli altri *benben*."

J'ai rencontré une autre copie de la même composition dans le *Dictionnaire Mythologique* de Mr. Lanzone. Sur la planche CLXXX (No. 2) le même dessin est reproduit, mais avec une remarquable addition qui ne touche, il est vrai, qu'un détail, mais un détail d'une certaine importance par la raison que des lignes verticales, imitant

les rayons de la lumière, remplissent la partie intérieure du triangle de la pyramide (voir la figure ci-dessous).



Dans tous les cas il est sûr que la représentation en question se rapporte à la lueur pyramidale qui précède le lever du soleil ou qui apparaît après son coucher, en d'autres termes à la lumière appelée zodiacale par nos savants modernes. Les Egyptiens des temps passés l'adoraient comme ils adoraient le soleil (O) et on comprendra ainsi ce sacrificeoffert (au lever de la lumière zodiacale "dont j'ai parlé en haut (voir la page 204).

Depuis les temps les plus anciens le culte de la lumière zodiacale possédait un centre au mileu de la province de l'Arabie, située du côté oriental du Delta. C'était dans la métropole Gosem ("la ville du crépuscule," cf. le mot copte n-Tocse, Twees. turbo, γνόφος, caligo), le Goshen biblique, qu'un sanctuaire splendide fut consacré au dieu A sopdou, le représentant solaire de la lumière zodiacale. C'est lui qui donna à la ville même son nom sacré de A ou Pe-sopdou, comme elle est appelée sur la stèle d'El-Arish. Les nombreuses représentations du dieu ainsi que celles de ses parèdres et des objets de son culte, sculptées sur la chapelle de Saft el-Henneh et publiées par les soins de Mr. le professeur NAVILLE, nous fournissent l'occasion de composer un tableau extrêmement complet et curieux du service de cette divinité, comme je l'ai amplement démontré dans mon travail sous presse. Pour à présent, je me permets de fixer l'attention du lecteur sur un fait incontestable qui n'est pas sans valeur pour juger les rapports existant entre la lumière zodiacale, sous sa forme divine de dieu / , et les phénomènes célestes au temps du crépuscule. C'est ainsi que le dieu en question se trouve combiné avec la figure de la déesse Sothis, The avec le phénix ( appelé ) 5

bnou) et avec un serpent ailé nommé \* (celui du crépuscule matinal" (voir Naville, Goshen, pl. 5, b et 6, b.) Effectivement, d'autres textes de nature astronomique nous font connaître une divinité du nom protectrice de la septième heure de la nuit (voir mon Thesaurus, page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais protectrice de la septième heure de la nuit (voir mon Thesaurus, page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais protectrice de la septième heure de la nuit, une heure avant le lever du soleil. Le même papyrus, que j'ai copié dans l'ancien Musée de Boulak, renferme ce curieux passage: \* (mais protectrice de la septième heure de la nuit, une heure avant le lever du soleil. Le même papyrus, que j'ai copié dans l'ancien Musée de Boulak, renferme ce curieux passage: \* (mais protectrice de la septième heure de la nuit (voir mon Thesaurus, page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais protectrice de la septième heure de la nuit (voir mon Thesaurus, page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais protectrice de la septième heure de la nuit (voir mon Thesaurus, page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais protectrice de la septième heure de la nuit (voir mon Thesaurus, page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais protectrice de la septième heure de la nuit (voir mon Thesaurus, page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais protectrice de la septième heure de la nuit (voir mon Thesaurus, page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais protectrice de la septième heure de la nuit (voir mon Thesaurus, page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée également \* (mais page 28), tandis que la même divinité, appelée éga

Les figures nombreuses sculptées sur la chapelle de Saft el-Henneh

font reconnaître en outre et à plusieurs reprises des divinités lunaires, telles que Thoth (pl. 2, 4), ou son animal sacré, le cynocéphale (pl. 2, 4; 3, 2; 6, 1; le Pan égyptien (pl. 2, 5; 2, 6; 3, 4ter); et le dieu Khonsou lunaire (pl. 6, 6). Il paraît évident que la lune était censée être en rapport avec la lumière zodiacale. Mr. H. GRUSON a réellement fait l'observation et prouvé par des calculs, que la hauteur de la pyramide zodiacale dépend uniquement des jours lunaires ou de la position de la lune vis-à-vis de notre globe terrestre. Parmi ces jours, le vingt-deuxième, d'après l'assertion de Mr. Gruson, l'emporte sur les autres en provoquant la plus grand extension de hauteur de la lumière zodiacale. Les deux listes de jours lunaires que j'ai copiées dans les temples de Dendérah et d'Edfou (voir Thesaurus, page 46) et qui datent de l'époque des Ptolémées et des premiers Romains, rappellent miraculeusement le même fait, car elles donnent au vingt-deuxième jour lunaire la désignation de \_\_\_\_\_Ou \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ phou sopde-t, ce que j'avais traduit dans ledit Thesaurus (page 51) par "fête de la fin du triangle" (Feier des Schlusses des Dreieckes), mais ce qui également, et plus probable. ment, peut signifier "l'extrémité, la dernière limite (c'est-à-dire de la hauteur) du triangle" (voir mon Dictionnaire Supplémentaire, page 477). Il est, du reste, à noter que le substantif sopde-t ou sopdou-t, dans les deux rédactions, se trouve muni de la marque du genre feminin.

J'observe encore que la chapelle de Saft el-Henneh sur le même plan, nous présente deux scènes très remarquables, dont le sujet me paraît être mis en rapport avec le culte de la lumière zodiacale. On n'a qu'à regarder le dessin reproduit ci-après:



pour se convaincre que le Pharaon s'est prosterné par terre, et à la belle étoile, pour adorer la lumière zodiacale. La matière resplendissante de la lueur est indiquée par des lignes rayonnantes qui sortent des deux côtés de la lumière pyramidale. La double représentation du même dessin est tout naturellement en rapport avec les deux lumières zodiacales, celle du matin et celle du soir.

Dans les inscriptions des pyramides, le crépuscule du matin est indiquée parfois par les signes (Mirinri I, 679) (Teti, 276), (Pepi I, 29). Ce sont des combinaisons composées du triangle (, du soleil (), du phénix accroupi sur le triangle (), ou du phénix seul (), mal dessiné dans lesdits textes.



#### THE ORIGIN OF THE PHŒNICIAN ALPHABET.

#### By the Rev. C. J. Ball.

It is not so likely that the great monumental systems of hieroglyphic writing originated independently, as that they are offshoots from one original stock. In all branches of research, science looks for ultimate unity in the apparent multiplicity of actual phenomena, and the present case is not to be assumed without reason as an exception to the general rule. If, however, people want a priori grounds for a provisional theory of connexion, such may be found at once in the contiguity of Babylonia, Syria, Egypt, and their immemorial intercourse with each other. But, further, this theory is strongly corroborated by two considerations. The first is that of the still accumulating evidence for the Babylonian origin of the vast system of the Chinese characters; the second, that of the probable derivation of the Egyptian writing and even language from the same ultimate source.

So much, by way of starting ab ovo. Levy indeed denies the hieroglyphic origin of the Phœnician alphabet. And Von Gutschmid affirms "That the Semitic alphabet did not come from cuneiform writing may be taken as certain; but also it is not probable that it came from the hieratic character of the Egyptians." (Encycl. Brit. s.v. Phœnicia). Against such opinions it may be urged in limine (1) that the hieroglyphic or pictorial origin of writing in general is now almost universally recognized by those who have given special attention to the subject; (2) that the old Persian cuneiform writing supplies an actual instance of alphabetic development from the Assyrio-Babylonian syllabic system; (3) that the ancient Egyptian system, which probably started from a Babylonian basis, has already developed a set of some twenty-five strictly alphabetic signs, which it uses in combination with pictorial syllabic symbols and determinatives; (4) that the Cypriote syllabary obviously represents an intermediate stage between the pictorial or ideographic indication of entire words, and the alphabetic indication of elementary sounds; and (5) that the Japanese alphabet or syllabary of seventy-two open



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Process Summer of the Company of the	gan, bend, bow. Adhibright ge, ear. da, mais, dad, shine.	DALLU (Àe, ê house	zi, kij zida, ziruj (reed) straught, see sade.	gud, hyt, stylus. te, letters	to,ti, tip (sectau.) idfudlyd, band.	kap left hand xxBBV	lam, toplant, plough?	mu, to grow	me(bi,po) care. nufn) men.	sam, herbage	sil/sin-smitall grat.	en(gan, gen) eye. ga, gi.	gaph), fish.	pus, pus, padd)	huftiguly, ku, kan, ri, ra, (medaleth)	ras, head. ris, ras, cup, liquor. sigs ar, herbage	oho shaggehengyean dagkass) belahali, dab, talahitika- ti, heng
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syllables, with the vowels a, e, i, o, u, and the diphthongs ai, au, is historically known to have originated in abridgments and contractions of more or less complex Chinese ideographs.

To build an alphabet on the basis of other alphabets is doubtless no insuperable task. We have the historical examples of Mesrop, the Armenian, of the Gothic bishop Ulphilas, and of many modern missionaries. The old Wigur script, which was the archetype of Mongolian and Manchau, was adapted from a form of the Semitic alphabet; and that splendid monument of the scientific analysis of articulate sounds, the Devanagari, appears to depend on another form of it. The one alphabet has gone the round of the world. It does not look as if men were much given to absolute originality in these matters.

We assume then, that the writing of words preceded the writing of the phonetic elements of words. The first writing was pictorial and ideographic; then came the stage of phonetic spelling, partial or complete, in the case of ideograms likely to be misread owing to polyphony or other causes. In Accadian the addition of the symbol MY ga, to the symbol # gad, gud, pa, sig (from sag, sag), restricts us to the sound sig, and excludes the other values of the character. And when the symbol (((, which might be read either es or ba or sin, is provided with the gloss si-in. we understand that in this instance it is to be read sin, and not es or ba. Now this resolution of words which are closed syllables, like bad, gab, dug, sin, into the elements ba-ad, ga-ab, du-ug, si-in, is an important step towards the achievement of alphabetic writing. The same may be said of such resolutions as My shid into shi-ta, shi-ti, or III lig into li-ki, or II (g)ud (also gis) into (g)u-tu, where shita, shiti, liki, etc., seem to be later developments of the original monosyllabic root. Before however the analysis of closed monosyllables like bad, gab, etc., into ba-ad, ga-ab, etc., was possible or likely to suggest itself, the existence of words consisting of a single open syllable was necessary. The strong tendency of Accadian to drop final consonants when not followed by a vowel, gave rise, at a comparatively early period, to a number of words of this kind. Thus there can be little question that  $\sum ba$ , to divide, was originally identical with the root bad, to split, to open, Sb222; cp. also bar, ba, half, and bal, axe. This tendency prepared the way for phonetic spelling of the kind under consideration.

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comparatively modern Chinese method which spells a word by writing two characters together, and taking the initial sound of the first with the final sound of the second, is similar in principle, if clumsier in effect. Thus the native lexicographers spell is sim, heart, 告妹 sik-lim, s-im, the middle letters being disregarded (Edkins).\* The Accadian and the Chinese modes have this in common, that both combine words to suggest the sound of another word. To return to one of our instances, the sylvariant sig, and time, by which we spell ((( sin, are by themselves as much significant words as the 昔 sik, si, and 抹 lim, lin, of the Chinese example. And in both languages, when two monosyllables are thus combined to spell another word, they are absolutely as non-significant individually as alphabetic signs. The meanings of si(g) and in, si(k) and lim, have no bearing whatever on the meaning of sin, sim. This is surely a decided step in the direction of alphabetic writing, consisting as it does in the use of written symbols to suggest only sounds, not sense. The Chinese, it is true, got no further; but a quick-witted people like the Japanese could find out how to utilize simple open syllables for the purpose of constructing a scientific syllabary analogous to the ancient Cypriote.

The ordinary progress of phonetic change and of dialectic variation, by which the vowel of a syllable might fluctuate between a, i, u, would further tend to emphasize the consonantal sound as the constant element in a syllable. When it was observed that ba had also the value bi, that & was ha, and hi, that \ was both na and nu, the possibility of using a written symbol to suggest the constant sound directly and to imply the vowel required by the sense, may have presented itself to the unknown authors of so-called alphabetic writing. I say so-called, for it is evident that the Semitic alphabet and all its ancient offshoots are essentially syllabic. This is probably the true explanation of the fact that the Phœnician alphabet is destitute of any special symbols for vowel sounds. They were not necessary while the language was still a living one, because each of the twenty-two symbols was itself of syllabic origin and thus implied the presence of a vowel, which was a, i, u, according to circumstances.

<sup>\*</sup> The Accadian ideogram \* Sib, shepherd, looks like an instance of the same mode of spelling, being composed of \* sig + \* sig + \* dib (crook + flock).

It would seem, then, that when a sufficient number of open syllabic sounds, like ba, ga, da, already find appropriate symbols in the script of a language, an alphabet virtually exists. The practical obstacle to the immediate perception or utilization of the fact will lie in the number of symbols, greater or less, with identical values. This and other difficulties in the way of alphabetic origination would not be overcome in a day. We have not to imagine a deliberate invention of the Semitic alphabet by some reflective scribe. A hieroglyphic system like that of Babylonia, Egypt, or China, presenting a great number of homophonous symbols, is naturally an embarras de richesses to the first simplifiers of writing. The choice, therefore, does not immediately fall on a single sign as the fittest representative of a particular sound. Each simple sound will at first have several allowable symbols. For instance, the Japanese adapters of the enormously complex system of Chinese writing, bewildered by the multitude of available symbols, at the outset naturally adopted too many characters for each of the sounds of their own language. This in turn caused much uncertainty and embarrassment to Japanese writers and readers, until things were reduced to order and uniformity by the introduction of printing from metal blocks, when the number of possible forms was greatly diminished, and fixity was given to the elements of writing (Hepburn). Such difficulties are natural in the attempt to pass from a vast pictorial system to the simpler methods of a syllabary. We may therefore suppose that analogous perplexities beset the primary adaptation of the Babylonian symbols to the purposes of alphabetic

Since De Rougé, it has, no doubt, been a widely circulated opinion that the Phœnician characters were originally borrowed from the hieratic Egyptian. But almost every scholar who has given any particular attention to the subject has expressed himself dissatisfied with the comparisons suggested by De Rougé and his followers. In some instances the supposed resemblances are remote, in others altogether invisible. No one, surely, who is not pledged to the theory, will see much likeness between aleph and or it, it is between beth and if it is between it is between those scholars who were disposed to favour the Egyptain theory were satisfied with the details of it, may be inferred from the fact that Dr. Land thought

that only ten or eleven of the Canaanite symbols were easily identifiable with their supposed Egyptian prototypes; and in the table of alphabets appended to his Hebrew Grammar (English ed., London, 1876) the six letters  $\beth$ ,  $\beth$ ,  $\beth$ ,  $\beth$ ,  $\beth$ , are left unprovided with Egyptian counterparts. Nor can it be said that any of these characters, with the doubtful exception of D, finds a good parallel in the Egyptian columns supplied by Ebers to Euting's table of Semitic characters in Bickell's Hebrew Grammar. It is not. however, necessary to review here the controversy on the subject, in which Lagarde and others took part. My purpose is not so much to write a criticism of previous speculations on the origin of the alphabet, as to set forth and justify the conclusion which has forced itself upon my own mind in the course of a prolonged study of the primitive forms of Babylonian writing. Some years have passed since I first began to suspect that Egyptian civilization had its beginnings in the valley of the Euphrates (see Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., June, 1890). I had noticed several remarkable ideograms common to the Babylonian and Egyptian systems of writing, among them that of Merodach-Osiris, Babylonian Egyptian, and that of the nether abyss, Babylonian → Egyptian ⊗. I showed these and other things to Mr. Le Page Renouf, who by no means discouraged further research, and even remarked that the Egyptains traditionally came from the east. My main interest at the time was absorbed by other enquiries, but I continued to note fresh material as it occurred, especially facts which seemed to indicate that the Egyptian alphabetic signs might be of Babylonian origin. All the world now knows that at the last Oriental Congress Professor Hommel advocated a similar theory, illustrating it with much learning and ingenuity in a paper which is the basis of a work published at the time (Der Babylonische Ursprung der Aegyptischen Cultur: Munich, 1892); so that one may now hope that the question will be thoroughly sifted. I hold it, then, to be highly probable that the same old Turanian people which gave writing to the founders of Chinese civilization on the east, gave it also to the Semites and Egyptians on the west. I will not now attempt to discuss the hieroglyphs of northern Syria and Anatolia; but it may be mentioned that in June, 1888 (Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.), I maintained that points of contact were apparent between the Cypriote and old Babylonian characters. Some of the instances then adduced must be given up; others appear to be valid,

and the withdrawal of the former may be partially compensated by the addition of Babylonian ∇ ra, ru = Cypriote ∇, Q, ra; Babylonian T we, ve = Cypriote I ve: Babylonian la = Cypriote La, Babylonian wu, wu = Cypriote, N, ku; Babylonian ma, V mu, = Cypriote, N, mo; Babylonian tu, ty = Cypriote Ly te; Babylonian lig = Cypriote 8, X, 8, le; Babylonian tu, ty = Cypriote lig ne = Cypriote lig ne; Babylonian tu, ty = Cy

It has often been objected that the great number of the cuneiform symbols renders it almost a hopeless task to identify among them the prototypes of the twenty-two signs of the Phœnician alphabet. Something has already been said by way of meeting this objection beforehand. If the old Egyptians could develope a true alphabet out of the multitude of syllabic symbols at their command; if the Japanese could arrive at a syllabary of seventy-two characters by subjecting the unwieldy mass of Chinese ideograms to a sort of process of elimination, this difficulty cannot be justly regarded as insuperable. But further, let us look steadily at this fact: The six letters beth, gimel, teth, samech, ain, tau, which we saw could not be satisfactorily derived from the hieratic Egyptian, may be identified with great verisimilitude in the Babylonian syllabary. It will, I think, be generally recognized that A bet is sufficiently like  $\triangle$  ha, bi, to split (Accadian bad, bid, = Chinese pit). The Babylonian character for the eye is very similar, viz.,  $\triangle$ , bad (bag, mad, and other values), because the eye is a slit or opening (> bad, to open) in the face. The difference of shape between the Babylonian sign and the Phænician  $\Delta$  is merely a variation for convenience of writing. The latter may be called a one-stroke adaptation of the former. As to the name, beth, b-t (Semitic

<sup>\*</sup> This Cypriote character should perhaps be compared with the linear forms of the Babylonian \* te; see p. 8. Since this paper was written, I have succeeded in identifying many more of the Cypriote symbols with Accadian prototypes.

Babylonian  $b\bar{\imath}t$ ,  $b\bar{\epsilon}t$ ) is the common Semitic term for house. The original sound of the symbol becomes its name in the Phœnician alphabet; the original meaning is naturally exchanged for a familiar Semitic one which happens to be that of the corresponding Semitic sound.

The complete sacrifice of the old traditional names of the letters has been felt to be a difficulty in the way of the Egyptian theory. Canon Isaac Taylor indeed very fairly meets the objection by instancing the modern Russian alphabet, in which the original Greek names are displaced by Slavonian designations. But it is plainly in favour of our own view that it for the most part retains and accounts for the names of the letters. We shall show for the other letters, as for the one just considered, that what happened was the retention of the Accadian sounds, so far as that was possible, with the substitution of Semitic meanings. The principle of attaching a native sense to sounds of foreign origin is too universal to require illustration.

Gimel, 7, 1, A, Arabic gim, Greek gamma, resembles ), the linear equivalent of the Babylonian \ gam, gamma, to bow, gam-mal, "camel," strictly, "the humped"; a term which passed into Assyrian and the other Semitic languages, and of which the Sanskrit kramêla, kramêlaka, is probably an adaptation, ushta being the true Aryan term for camel. Gam, as the name of the third letter, was Semitized into gimel, naturally enough in view of these But besides gimel, only three or four of the twenty-two letters can be called perfect triliterals (lamed, samech, aleph, tzaddi ??). The monosyllabic form of almost all the names agrees with our theory that they are partially Semitized (imperfectly triliteralized) Accadian terms. As for the conventional vocalization of the names, too much stress must not be laid upon it, as it is, at least in part, demonstrably modern, e.g., zayin, ayin, נַיָּין; and again, אָלֶף, דְּלֶּת, יְּלֶּמֶד, לְמֶד, לְמֶד, יְּלֶת, the Syriac 'ālaph, gāmal, dālath with a variant dālad, semkath). These curious forms look like pausal pronunciations of 'alp(u), dalt(u), lamd(u), samk(u).

Teth, unfortunately wanting on the Moabite Stone, appears in Phœnician as (1), (2), (3), and under similar forms in Greek, as

⊕, θ, θητα. The old Babylonian writing supplies several good analogues for this letter. There is te, marks, ornaments, characters, the Assyrian [\*]. The linear figure looks like a modification of te (newer sound of de, di, from dug, dyg); a symbol which was originally rounded, as it represented the knee (dug, birku). Phœnician forms of Teth without the cross line, eg.

↓, curiously resemble the second symbol. Further [\*] tu, tu-r (= ty, ty-t), modern [\*], tu-l, pit, well, modern [\*], the origin of Teth; and comparing the Athenian [\*], the origin of Teth; and comparing the Athenian [\*], the fire-symbol ([\*]).

Looking at these facts, one might be inclined to think that the Phœnician characters represent the common element of Accadian signs acrophonically similar in sound. Perhaps, however, we should rather say that for an indefinite period the various related Babylonian symbols were used indifferently as alphabetic representatives of the Semitic sounds indicated by the corresponding letters. This would be the first step; and it seems to account for the varying forms of the Phœnician signs, which need not all be deduced from a single ancestor, but may preserve traces of several. One locality, even one individual scribe, might prefer one form of a letter, another another, until at last by the intercourse of commerce and diplomacy a form would result exhibiting a likeness to all, but not exactly identical with any of the prototypes.

As to the name מָּרָה, Tēth, which is obscure if regarded as a term of Semitic origin, Gesenius derived it from Arabic לעבל tait, serpent. In our view, te has been made te-th, to rhyme with the preceding letter, heth, by way of memoria technica; cp. the Ethiopic succession tait, pait.

 letter, Nun (Assyrian  $n\bar{u}nu$ , Aramaic  $n\bar{u}n$ , fish), may have determined the Canaanite form of the name, and the position of the letter in the alphabet. Moreover, as we shall see, the Babylonian symbol for fish is one of the archetypes of the following letter Ain. The Accadian ideograms out of which Samech was evolved were probably  $\implies$  sam,  $\implies$  sam, Assyrian  $\implies$  herbs, greens ( $\not$  Egyptian  $\implies$  sam, greens), and  $\implies$  sil (from sin;  $\not$  the other value, nun), great, high; a figure possibly representing a tall plant or reed. p also  $\implies$  sit, and even  $\implies$  sag (sang). In the case of the first and last of these symbols, the perpendicular lines are reduced to one in the adaptation to alphabetical purposes.

The letter Ain, y, anciently  $\bigcirc$ ,  $\triangle$ ,  $\lozenge$ , agrees with  $\triangle$  en, in, originally  $\bigcirc$  or  $\bigcirc$ ,  $\diamondsuit$ , the Egyptian  $\bigcirc$ , to which it corresponds in the equation  $\Rightarrow \forall (y - 1) = \bigcirc$ . This old Babylonian symbol for the eye is the source of the Canaanite name. But, further, it is now generally recognized that the Accadian  $\S$  had a certain correspondence to the sound of the Semitic y ( $\trianglerighteq$ ); and we actually find Canaanite proper names like  $\lnot$  ), ), Gaza, transcribed in Assyrian by help of  $\bigvee$ (,  $\lozenge$ ,  $\lozenge$ , which, in the old writing was  $\bigcirc$ ,  $\bigcirc$ , and originally represented the outline of a fish (Accadian  $\S$ a,  $\Bbbk$ a). The open forms of ain, such as  $\bigcirc$ ,  $\bigcirc$ , suggest comparison with  $\bigcirc$   $\bigcirc$   $\lozenge$  in  $\lozenge$ ,  $\lozenge$  has  $\lozenge$  in  $\lozenge$ 

Tau, \(\bar{n}\), Phoenician \(\times\), the last letter of the alphabet, which, as it were, sums up the total of the symbols, is probably the Babylonian \(\times\) tab (tav), "total," Assyrian \(\times\) napharu. The \(\times\), napharu, of the Contract Tablets appears to be only a variant mode of writing \(\times\) tab, napharu (Sc 155; cp. Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., IV, 113). The pronunciation tav suggested identification with \(\times\), from \(\times\), \(\times\). Other old forms of this letter somewhat resemble the Babylonian \(\times\) ti.

In not restricting myself to the comparison of a single Babylonian character with each letter, I have followed the precedent of Ebers-

Euting, as well as the apparent probabilities of each case. The truth would seem to be that, while in a few instances the authors of the alphabet transferred a symbol, practically unaltered, to its new uses, in others they had to perform a sort of generalization, abstracting the finally adopted form from a number of forms more or less akin to each other. As the Babylonian syllabary presents, in many cases, a series of symbols which have come, through a process of gradual assimilation, to reflect their relationship of sound in the likeness of their forms, the symbol ultimately adopted by the authors of the Semitic alphabet may be regarded as the element of likeness in each related group. The letter w, shin, sin, w, 4, for instance, looks like a sort of abstraction from various Babylonian characters denoting growth and vegetation, viz.: syn, sim, sing, "garlick" (Assyrian, šhūmu); sar, shar (and shag? cp. the name ni-sigū, and sig, "green"), greens, to come out, grow up, etc.; 👸 she, sheg, corn; 🧙 esh, sin (from san; cp. San-herib. The moon waxes and wanes); shin, lord (5 R 30. 38 a). The old Chinese  $\Psi\Psi$  sak, tsak, now tsau, grass, is from shar (sar, sag, sig); and the Egyptian his she, a bed of water plants, hieratic ", may be ultimately of the same origin. It is not denied that the hieratic Egyptian may have had some, though not the originating, influence in determining a few of the forms of the Canaanite alphabet. We may also compare the Cypriote W, Y, se.

The facts suggest an ultimate kinship of the symbols for  $\boldsymbol{v}$  and  $\boldsymbol{v}$ , such as we should expect from the ambiguity of Accadian characters with initial s. Indeed, some of the old forms of Samech approach the form of shin, e.g.,  $\boldsymbol{z}$ ; but this is really due to the attempt to write Samech without lifting the reed, that is, with a single stroke.

In the Phœnician alphabet—even in the oldest known form of it—certain letters bear a really striking likeness to each other. It is probable that the similarities in question go back to the original symbols which were the prototypes of these letters. At all events it will be a point in our favour if we can show the existence of the same feature in the corresponding Babylonian characters. Now the

Phoenician Shin resembles a letter of a different origin, viz., Mem. Mem looks like Shin with a tail, which indeed Shin sometimes has, though rarely. The Egyptian m (3) and s do not account for the fact. But a reason for the unquestionable similarity of the letters may be seen in the two values of the Babylonian , which was read ma, mu, as well as shar, sar. Ma and mu were naturally synonymous with shar. They denoted the coming forth of stalks and reeds (aṣū sa iṣi u ganē). It is at least curious, if not confirmatory, that the symbol ? shin was more usually read min, and that X was mad and shad, among other sounds. The Babylonian symbol, however, which perhaps exercised as much influence as any upon the final form of Mem was me, "ears," of which might be considered a one-stroke adaptation; cp. the Cypriote M mi. The Greek Mô has been compared with Phœnician ימן, "water" (Gesen.); but its vowel was probably determined by the following No. The Semitic name מִים, i.e., מֵים, "waters," was suggested by the fact that the sound mē has that meaning as an Assyrio-Babylonian word (cp. Hebrew ים. The Egyptian mā, "water," may also have had something to do with it.

The lower part of the character  $\uparrow$ , which is the character  $\uparrow$  me, we, used as a phonetic, appears to be one of the prototypes of the Phœnician  $\uparrow$  Waw (written  $\uparrow$ , with one stroke). The curving upwards of the horizontal stroke is nothing anomalous, as any one acquainted with the old forms of the Chinese characters will readily admit; and the change of vowel might be due to the fact that ma, wa, was an older sound of me (cp.  $\not\models$  ma, to call,  $\not\models$  to speak). But the chief model for  $\not\uparrow$ ,  $\not\uparrow$ ,  $\not\uparrow$ , Waw, was the Babylonian  $\not\downarrow$  mu, wu, tree, stalk, rod, etc., which in Chinese was simplified to  $\not\downarrow$ ,  $\not\downarrow$ , and in Cypriote  $\not\downarrow$ ,  $\not\downarrow$  vo. The South Semitic forms of the letter, Himyarite  $\not o$ , Ethiopic  $\not o$ , wa, may be compared with  $\not o$  mu, wu, and Cypriote  $\not o$ ,  $\not o$  mo.

The old Babylonian  $\uparrow$  ma, me, most commonly represents the sounds pe, pi, in Semitic cuneiform texts. These sounds doubtless

sprang from an earlier bi, be, which in Accadian would be dialectic equivalents of me. Written with one stroke of the pen, the character as we have seen becomes  $\mbox{\sc M}$  me(m). To distinguish its other function pe, this was simply abridged to  $\mbox{\sc J}$ ,  $\mbox{\sc J}$ , that is, the letter Pe, by the authors of the Semitic alphabet. Pe finds no satisfactory counterpart in Egyptian. There is, moreover, a certain resemblance between Pe and Gimel; but none whatever between  $\mbox{\sc k}$  and  $\mbox{\sc M}$ ,  $\mbox{\sc p}$  the hieratic symbols which have been fancifully compared with them. But in Accadian the character  $\mbox{\sc k}$  is both ge ["ear";  $\mbox{\sc cp}$ . me, properly "the (two) ears," Japanese mi-mi!] and bur, pur, pu (phonetic in  $\mbox{\sc M}$ ). Pe, which originally meant ear, has been identified by Gesenius and others with the Semitic  $\mbox{\sc R}$ , mouth. But in the alphabet  $\mbox{\sc ear}$  follows  $\mbox{\sc eye}$ , the two Babylonian symbols being somewhat similar:  $\mbox{\sc eye}$ , the two Babylonian symbols being somewhat similar:

The reciprocal similarity of the letters beth, daleth, resh, is also better accounted for by reference to the Babylonian script than is any other way. With  $\bigcirc$  or  $\bigcirc$ , we may fairly compare  $\bigcirc$  da, ra, or du, ru, and  $\bigcirc$  dal, ri( $\S$ ). The character  $\bigcirc$  ba(t), bi(t), involves a triangle, and so far resembles both of the latter ideograms. But there is another Babylonian symbol,  $\bigcirc$ , including the values bi (= bir, or bis) and ras, ris,\* which, when reversed thus  $\bigcirc$  may be compared with both  $\bigcirc$  be-t and  $\bigcirc$  resh, which may be considered as one-stroke modifications of it. With resh, "head," cp. also the Babylonian  $\bigcirc$  ris, applying the same principle.

The name Daleth is simply the non-significant dal Semitized by assimilation to the common דלת, Assyrian daltu, Arabic daltu, Hebrew däleth, "door."

<sup>\*</sup> That ras is not merely "an Assyrian value," is evident from the analysis of si-ris, written ris-si or ras-si, because originally pronounced so.

Another pair of letters ultimately traceable to the same origin is Zain and Tzaddi, צרי ( $Sad\acute{e}$ ). The Accadian symbols for sounds with initial z have, as is well known, to do duty also for sounds with initial tz (s, ss, c, ts) in Semitic Babylonian writing; " is za or sa, according to context; YY zi is used also for si, and so on. That being the case, it is not surprising to find that the Phœnician zain and w tzaddi may both be referred to the one Babylonian symbol 👢 zi, zidda (=zida). The name Tzaddi or rather Sādē is apparently a transformation of the Accadian zida; and the Phænician letter might possibly have been reached by omission of two cross lines at the top and bottom of the Accadian figure. On the other hand, Tzaddi looks like the common Phœnician ~ zain with an added side stroke; but this is only a later one-stroke adaptation of the form of Zain given above. Zain, in fact, appears to preserve the upper half of the archetypal character, while tzaddi is a simplification of the lower half of it. As for the name Zain (זְיֵל, záyin), it is probably modern; for in Syriac we find and , zai (vid. Payne Smith's Thes.), and Gesenius refers to the Mishna Shabbath 12.5 for זיין as a plural of זי. Cp. also the Greek name Zŷra, which Gesenius explains as equivalent to an Aramaic אירה, but which undoubtedly agrees as well with the Accadian zida, called by the Assyrians Zītu, as Beth does with bid, bit. Perhaps the best way of accounting for the appended n of the Hebrew name is to suppose that zida, zi, zai, have been assimilated to the Semitic کے ایک ایک ایک عند عند عند عند اللہ عن arms, ornament, equipment.

It would be interesting to detect some principle of order at the basis of the present arrangement of the letters. The juxtaposition of the three surds b, g, d, at the outset, has often been noticed, as also that of the three so-called liquids l, m, n, in the middle; but no particular order is observed continuously throughout the alphabet. Some of the symbols are arranged according to the real or apparent meaning of their names, the object being no doubt the practical one of an aid to memory. This is the case with yod, caph; mem, nun, samech; ain, pe; and, as we shall now see, with heth, teth. The letter heth,  $\mathbf{H}$ ,  $\mathbf{H}$ , appears to be derived from the Babylonian  $\mathbf{H}$ - gad, hat, gud, hut (pronounced nearly gyd,

hyt, hit, whence het, heth), meaning the stylus or writing-reed. The Babylonian scribes called the character Giš-tar or Geś-darū, names which imply that it was formed from | giš, stick, stalk, and tar (dar), to cut. The primary form may therefore have been The hopeless obscurity of the name הית Heth, if regarded as a word of Semitic origin, may be judged of by reference to Gesenius (Thes., p. 436).

From the Accadian term gad, the Semitic Babylonians derived their hattu; and it seems probable, considering the affinity of g, h, and e mentioned above (p. 400), that the Hebrew vy, stylus, Jer. viii, 8; Ps. xlv, 1, is a variant form of the same word (from gyd git) ; חרט (hart, dissimilated from hatt) may be another offshoot of gad.

The Semitic names Yod and Caph, יוֹד, יִפֹּל, vod, yūd, אַבֿ, kaf, mean hand and palm. The latter is an ordinary Hebrew term; the vocalization of the former is peculiar, and suggestive of foreign origin. Now the Phænician A may very well be the Babylonian id, i, the hand (and fore-arm?), looked at sideways instead of full front, so that only the thumb and forefinger are visible, instead of all the five fingers, as in the archetype. Some of the Phoenician variants show three fingers, as , , like the old Chinese characters, and indeed like the modern Babylonian and Assyrian equivalents [ and ]. The figure may originally have represented the right hand, the hand par excellence; cp. the name of the corresponding Ethiopic letter, Yaman. The vocalization of Yod may perhaps be accounted for thus: the Accadian id = ud, from yud, gud, gud, a byform of E gad, hand. The other values of id, viz., ia, a, are distinctly traces of ya, ga, ga(d).

The letter Caph,  $\kappa \dot{a}\pi\pi a$ , Phoenician  $\frac{1}{2}$ , old Hebrew  $\frac{1}{2}$ , may possibly preserve the form and sound of the Babylonian character which denoted the left hand, viz., - W, variant Jaya, the linear form of which is unhappily not yet found, but which was doubtless originally an outline of a hand facing to the right, like the old Chinese  $\mathcal{E}$ . The sounds were gub and kab (= kap).

We must not however ignore the fact that in the instance of Caph and Koph, as in that of Zain and Tsaddi, the non-Semitic

For Koph,  $\Phi$ ,  $\widehat{\Phi}$ ,  $\kappa \delta \pi \pi a$   $\widehat{\Phi}$ , we may with some probability refer to  $\widehat{\square}$ , an archaic form of E ku(p). I infer kup from the known values ub and tub (ub, as in other cases, being worn down from gub; whence also kup, ku, along another line of differentiation). The prolongation of the middle stroke is parallel to that observed in  $\widehat{\triangle}$ ,  $\widehat{\triangle}$ , ba, and other known instances, e.g.  $\widehat{\nabla}$ , which becomes  $\widehat{\nabla}$  in the old Babylonian writing. Another analogue for Koph may be recognized in  $\widehat{\triangle}$  qam (qav), modified similarly to  $\widehat{\nabla}$  Phoenician variants like  $\widehat{\nabla}$  are due to the attempt to write the letter without raising the reed, that is, with a single stroke or movement of the pen. The name  $\widehat{\nabla}$   $\widehat{\nabla}$   $\widehat{\nabla}$  has naturally been connected with the Semitic  $\widehat{\nabla}$   $\widehat{\nabla}$  has naturally been connected with the Semitic  $\widehat{\nabla}$   $\widehat{\nabla}$  has naturally been connected with the Semitic  $\widehat{\nabla}$   $\widehat$ 

The letter Lamed, Arabic lam, Greek  $\lambda \dot{\alpha} \mu \beta \hat{c} a$ , is one of the symbols for which several clear prototypes can be specified in the old Babylonian. The Moabite G perhaps agrees best with lam, the antique form of E . The Moabite character looks like the outer line of this ideogram somewhat rounded. The meaning of lam is to grow, and to cause to grow, to plant (cp). Tigl. Pil. prism vii, 27); and Prof. Hommel thinks that the figure represents a plough  $(Proc.\ Soc.\ Bibl.\ Arch.,\ Jan.,\ 1893,\ p.\ 112)$ . However that may be, the term lam, having no significance as a Semitic root, has been triliteralized into lamd, a familiar stem in Assyrian, Hebrew

and Arabic, in the senses of beating and teaching. Gesenius says of the ox-goad, "apud Phœnices hoc instrumentum [Heb. מלפר) dictum est" (*Thes.*, p. 757), but I have not been able to verify this statement. Other Babylonian analogues for lamed are la, an Accadian term meaning abundance, joy, and lag, lug, lig (=lang, etc.), servant, to wash.

Nun, 5, 7, the Greek  $\nu \hat{v}$ , seems to correspond with the Babylonian  $\sqrt{\phantom{a}}$  nu, image, likeness, etc. (= old Chinese nuk, like). The Phœnician sign, which presents no marked variants, retains two sides of the reversed character  $\sqrt{\phantom{a}}$ . As for the name,  $N\bar{u}n$  denotes fish in Aramaic, Assyrian, and Arabic; and if, as Hommel supposes, gan was the older sound of the Accadian gan, fish, nun (from ngun) may be ultimately a term of Accadian origin.

The old Greek uses of the two Phœnician letters may throw some light on our problem. In Greek He represents E, e; Heth is used both for initial h (') and for H,  $\eta$ . These facts seem to point us to the archaic Babylonian e, house, strictly ke, from e (= $\xi \xi$ ) es = gas, house; e,  $\xi \varphi$ .  $\xi \varphi$  ga, house). If the four vertical lines be regarded as one, this Accadian symbol will be seen to resemble the Phœnician derivative.

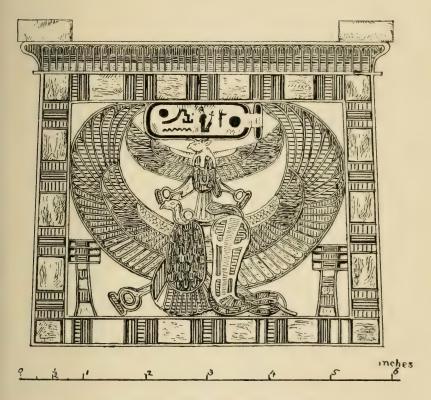
¹ The Babylonian writing does not formally indicate the implied initial h, which is only inferred from etymology. Cp. the Hebrew, Hiddèqel, implying hid, 'gid, river (though the name is written I-digna, I-diglat, in the cuneiform), and I id, river.

For Aleph,  $\swarrow$  we may refer to the old Babylonian  $\downarrow$  ox, Assyrian *alpu*, and the related symbols. The character is slanted and written with two strokes of the reed, instead of three or four.

The Accadian sound of the character was gud, gu, strictly ngud, ngu; so that in this case the Canaanites have chosen the Semitic reading of the ideogram for their name of the derived letter, much as III was called kalbu by the Assyrians. Cp. also the derivative ama, from ana (= FIII na, bullock), wild ox, which implies initial &. The ideogram ( ulu (u-lu?), another derivative, suggests that ala (= ana = ama) was also a value of the original symbol for oxen; as dialectically it might have been. Another possible archetype of the letter was the character  $\bigvee a$ , water, which is used in Semitic Babylonian writing to indicate N. The old form may have been modified first to K and then to k. The figure might then be called Alp, Aleph, from a fancied resemblance to the horned head of an ox. It is at least curious to find and among the old Chinese forms of the symbol for water; figures which might almost be mistaken for a modern Hebrew & (see Luh shu tung, 酒 and 流).

These notes embody the substance of a paper which was read before the Royal Asiatic Society, Dec. 13, 1892. The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. W. H. Rylands for material assistance in dealing with typographical difficulties, which were considerable. The archaic forms of the Babylonian characters should be verified by reference to M. Léon Heuzey's work Découvertes en Chaldée par Ernest de Sarzec, etc. (Paris, 1891), and to MM. Amiaud and Méchineau's Tableau comparé des écritures, etc. (Paris, 1887).

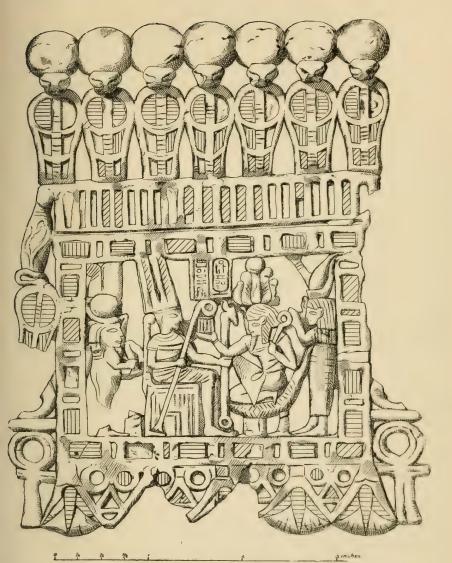
# PLATE I



Pectoral of Cha-em-uas, son of Rameses II.



# PLATE II.



IIII red jasper 😑 lapis lazuli //// plasma & glazed steatite

Egyptian Pectoral.

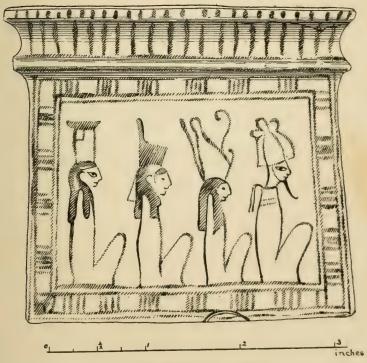
IN THE POSSESSION OF F. G. HILTON PRICE, ESQ



# PLATE III.



IN THE POSSESSION OF E. TOWRY WHYTE, Esq.



British Museum, No. 7847.



# PLATE IV.

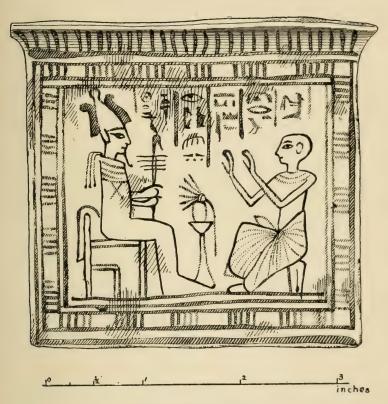


From Tel Basta, in the possession of F. G. Hilton Price, Esq.





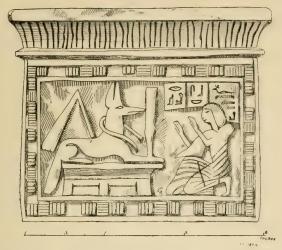
# PLATE V.



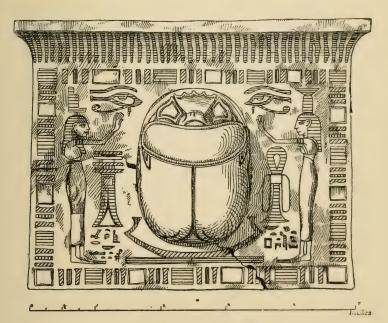
British Museum, No. 7849.



# PLATE VI.



British Museum, No. 7852.



British Museum, No. 7865.



#### NOTES ON PECTORALS.

# By E. Towry Whyte, M.A.

In the following few notes on pectorals, I do not propose to include the large number of scarabs, commonly called the heart scarab, which are generally found in place of the pectoral; they are found both as painted ornaments on the mummy case or cartonage wrapping, and as carved or moulded objects made in various materials. Of course they are in one sense pectorals, but I shall restrict myself to the pectoral plate, or ornament, an object much less frequently found. Dr. Petrie told me that in the course of his excavations he has discovered very few indeed, only two or three I think he said, and those in a very bad state of preservation. As I have failed to find any description other than the mere catalogue ones, I fear that I shall not be able to throw much light on the subject, but hope that by drawing attention to it, someone else may be able to make something more out of it, and that by this means we may get the history of these objects worked out; for I think there must be a history. Pectorals or pectoral plates are funereal objects, being, as the name indicates, flat plates laid on the breast of the mummy; they were held in position by cords fastened to loops or holes in the top of the pectoral, sometimes they have holes in the bottom as well; and were hung round the neck of the mummy or tied on to the collar.

They are usually in the form of a naos or shrine, but are also found of an oval shape; they are called in Egyptian ut'a, which name was also given to the symbolical eye of the sun.

They were made of various materials, being found in gold, silver, bronze, lead, stone, porcelain, wood and composition. The gold ones are generally inlaid with either coloured stones, glass or composition. No enamel in the proper sense of the term has yet been discovered. The pattern on the gold is formed by walls of gold being soldered on the ground in the same manner as cloisonné enamel, and the stones or glass cut to shape and fixed in with cement. Where composition is employed in place of stone or glass, it appears to be a very hard gum, which is capable of being coloured as desired.

409 2 F 2

This gum seems almost indestructible, as it retains its polished surface in many cases to the present day. The bronze pectorals were inlaid in a similar manner and heavily gilt; possibly in some cases they are undertakers' substitutions for gold; they seem to be very rare, the best I have seen being that of Rameses III, now in the possession of Mr. Hilton Price. There is but one example in bronze in the British Museum, No. 22,840 being a hawk with very large wings spread out, and holding in its claws two feathers. This is probably of late times, Ptolemaic, or perhaps Roman; it and the one I mention later on as belonging to myself are perhaps hardly to be regarded as pectorals at all. The catalogues of most of the museums make no mention of them either. Silver and lead are of excessive rarity, the porcelain ones are the commonest.

#### Age.

The earliest pectoral I have been able to find out is that of King Aahmes, first king of the XVIIIth dynasty, now in the Gizeh Museum. It was found in the tomb of Aahotep with other objects, and is of gold inlaid with lapis lazuli and other stones; they seem to have been used from that period down to the late Roman times.

The gold inlaid pectorals seem to be the earliest; porcelain ones date mostly from the XXIst to the XXVIth dynastry, which of course is the great pottery era in Egypt.

I have seen a very fine grained limestone one of Thothmes III. but whether of that date I am unable to say. Some of the stone and steatite ones in the British Museum are probably of the XIXth and XXth dynasties, judging by the style of workmanship.

# General Description.

There seems to be a marked difference between the few of the gold pectorals known and many of the stone and porcelain ones in design and subject: for instance, in that of King Aahmes, a remarkably fine and elaborate specimen of gold inlay, the king is represented as standing on a boat between two gods, who are pouring the water of purification over his head; in the top corners are cartouches with his name on them; surrounding this subject is the naos or shrine; it is described and illustrated by M. Ernest Desjardins, in a sequel to the "Histoire d'Egypte" and in colours, beautifully drawn by T. Kiddle; it is the most beautiful piece of Egyptian

jewelry known. In that of Cha-em-uas, the son of Rameses II, the shrine encloses a uraeus and vulture side by side; the latter holds a seal in its right claw; over their heads is a hawk with ram's horns, holding a seal in each claw, above the hawk and under the frieze of the naos is a cartouche with the prenomen of Rameses II, User ma rā sotep en rā. A tat is placed at each of the lower angles of the frame; this pectoral is made of gold, inlaid with lapis and other stones and glass. The reverse is a flat sheet of gold engraved with a similar design, except that in place of the hawk's head with ram's horns a female head is substituted; it is well illustrated in colours in Marriette's "Le Serapeum," 1857, part 3.

In the same book are two other gold pectorals of the XIXth dynasty; in these cases the design is more like those of the later times, that is if they are as early as the XIXth dynasty. They have the usual shrine, inside which is one case is a large blue glass scarab on a gold plate of the same size, and standing in the act of adoration are Isis and Nephthys, one on either side; this pectoral is open work and uninscribed. The other is a gold plate with a greenstone scarab let in, with Isis and Nephthys on either side, and above a band of grey-green with white hieroglyphics.



Inscription above green stone scarab.

The reverse is a sheet of the same colour bound round with gold, with the heart chapter in an oval in the centre, and a long inscription. Both pectorals have the sides of the shrines inlaid in colours similar to Cha-em-uas.

The bronze pectoral belonging to Mr. Hilton Price has been very heavily gilded, and inlaid with lapis lazuli and red and green glass or root of emerald; it is of the usual shrine form, but above the cornice are seven large uraei inlaid and crowned with disks, and on either side is an inlaid uraeus crowned with the hêt and resting upon an ānch. The fringe at the bottom is the usual lotus; the subject in the centre is of pierced work; Amen Rā is seated holding the user sceptre and a crook; behind him Chonsu is seated; in front of Amen Rā is the king kneeling on a footstool and making an offering; above his hand are two cartouches inscribed: the one has User mat Rā mer Amen, and the other Amen Rā Lord of Uast

(that is Thebes). Behind the king stands Mut. This very rare object is a pectoral of Rameses III of the XXth dynasty. I would suggest that it may have been an undertaker's substitution for a gold one which had been ordered; the uræi in this pectoral have been cast and then rivetted on to a wrought plate with three rivets behind; the wrought work shows great carelessness in setting out, as the top line has not been made anything like parallel to the bottom.

A very late form of bronze pectoral is in my own possession; it is a cow-headed hawk or vulture with drooping wings and cows' legs; the head is crowned with the plumes and disk; this is probably not earlier than Roman times.

There is a fragment of a wooden one in the British Museum, No. 14,655, which has been heavily gilded and inlaid with blue and red glass in a somewhat similar style to the metal ones above described, but it can only have been imitative, as the weight would at once betray it, also the much greater coarseness of the gold lines. It is probably an early specimen.

In many of the glazed steatite pectorals the subjects are somewhat similar to the bronze one described above, and are probably mostly of that date, that is XXth dynasty, for instance, No. 7852 in the British Museum is of glazed steatite in the usual shrine form, colour turquoise-blue glaze, with the border of the shrine inlaid with red jasper and lapis; the inlays are cemented in with a composition of the colour of red lead. The centre subject is a kneeling figure adoring Anpu, with sceptre and flail, who is seated on the top of a shrine. There is an inscription in the top right hand corner; on the reverse are two knots or loops with a tat between in a shrine,

very roughly done, all in incised lines \( \begin{array}{c} \begin{array}{

adoring Osiris, who is seated before a table of offerings; above is an inscription. Some steatite ones have scarabs let into the centre, as in No. 7859, which has probably had a yellow glaze, and is inlaid with coloured stones and composition; it is of the shrine form, the cornice being decorated with a winged disk of the sun incised; in the centre is a boat with a rudder, which has held a raised scarab, now lost. On either side stand Isis and Nephthys in the act of adoration; the ground surrounding the subject has been filled up with inlay. No. 7860 is glazed green, and is of the shrine form. It is very beautifully decorated with inlay; the centre has a boat with

a lotus flower on the bow and stern, with Isis and Nephthys standing adoring, and in the middle the matrix of a double scarab (?) on a stand. Above is the winged disk; the figures, boat, winged sun, &c., are in low relief with a bright blue ground, lapis; the edge is inlaid with red and blue alternately, with bars of steatite between.

These I fancy are later work than the two first described, perhaps XXIInd Dynasty. I think that many of the very beautiful hard stone scarabs which are uninscribed and unpierced, but most carefully carved, have been at one time or were intended to be let into stone pectorals; they are sometimes found let into porcelain, but not so frequently as those scarabs made of glass or porcelain. In most of the porcelain pectorals the scarabæus either with or without wings forms the central subject, and those without it have the subject generally painted in outline, usually representing the deceased standing or kneeling, worshipping Osiris, as in No. 7849 B.M., in which the deceased, a priest, is kneeling before Osiris, who is seated holding a sceptre, and in front of him a table of offerings; above an inscription; on the reverse Anpu with collar and flail is seated on the top of a shrine, and in the right hand corner his name \( \bigcup\_{\subset} a rich blue, with the lines painted on in dark purple almost black. In others Appu alone is shown seated on a shrine, and sometimes a whole row of gods and goddesses are given, as in No. 7847 B.M.; the reverse of this one is very similar to the steatite one No. 7852 aiready described, except that instead of the flail and sceptre, there is a winged eye in the corner above the back of Anpu; the front is a dull blue inclining to greenish shade, the reverse a good blue, the outlines are dark purple nearly black, the front is not very carefully done, the back much better.

The scarab is usually raised, having been moulded separately and planted on the plaque previous to firing, or let into the plate, a hole having been left to receive it. When the scarab is inscribed the thirtieth chapter of the Ritual, more or less complete, is that used, showing that there is some connection between the pectoral and the Heart scarab: as an example, No. 7854 B.M., which is a painted one of a dull green coloured ground with black lines, has the usual boat, and instead of the back of the scarab the base is shown, with the Heart chapter on it; also in some later stone ones the thirtieth chapter is cut on the back of the whole plate, while the front shows the usual design of boat, scarab, Isis, and Nephthys.

The colours of these pectorals are very various, being blue, green, yellow, and sometimes white. As specimens I may quote No. 14,654, which is in the usual shrine form, and is a very bright blue with darker blue enrichments to the cornice and base. There are also squares and triangles of virteous paste of red, dark blue, and turquoise-blue let in; the centre has held a scarab without the usual boat, with a figure done in incised lines filled in with blue kneeling in adoration on either side; above are two eyes.

Another, No. 14,653, is very heavily glazed and coloured, the ground being gamboge-yellow, with red and blue decorations. The usual shrine form, but the sides batter in, much more than usual; the centre subject is Anpu holding a staff, seated on a shrine; above is an eye, in front a kneeling figure adoring and holding an object in his left hand; the ground of the subject is blue, the figures yellow.

No. 7853 is another of the usual shrine form, it is a sort of pale lemon-yellow ground, with lines incised slightly, and blue painted in; the central subject is Anpu, with a collar, seated on the top of a shrine, and above on the left hand side a winged right eye; the eyebrow, eye, eyelash and also Anpu are filled in with blue composition previous to firing.

No. 7865 is another very fine inlaid porcelain one of the usual shape, with the sides of the shrine inlaid with red glass strips and squares of light cream coloured paste (or stone); the dark blue squares and light blue strips are painted and fired on; the light blue is now mostly green, probably the blue and yellow mixed somewhat in firing. In the centre is a very fine large blue porcelain scarab and the usual boat, on the left side a tat, on the right a knot, and standing behind on the left Isis, and on the right Nephthys in the act of adoration; above are two eyes; below both the tat and knot are inscriptions; the ground is a rich gamboge-yellow; the face, arms, and feet green, the wigs and crowns blue, the body from the waist downwards inlaid with cream coloured stone or glass.

Many pectorals of course are much plainer in their decoration, and evidently not so expensively got up. Some are pierced, so as to make the centre subject without a background. Some have had the subject printed on, as in a blue porcelain one from Ahmîn, belonging to Mr. Hilton Price. In this specimen the central subject, which is Anubis or Anpu seated with a flail, is black, and has apparently been printed on the clay from a stamp. An unusual

type also belongs to Mr. Price, and comes from Bubastes; it was formerly blue, the cornice to the shrine being decorated with a winged disk incised. The space within the shrine is divided into three compartments; the upper one has a lepidotus fish with the nose to the right. In the lower left hand compartment is another lepidotus, and in a separate square a seated cat to right; the fish and cat are moulded in low relief.

Another unusual form was sold at the Vize sale at Messrs. Sothebys; it was a black or very dark blue glazed porcelain scarab undercut right through, and cemented on to a light blue porcelain plaque about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch larger than the scarab all round; at the top a loop for suspension; the edge of the plaque was slightly raised, and on the back the thirtieth chapter of the Ritual This object might be taken as a sort of transition from the scarab to the pectoral plate. As far as I remember it was, judging by the colour, &c., a XIXth dynasty one, the blue being very similar to the blue glaze on the ushabtis of Seti.

The wooden pectorals are also of the shrine form usually: a well preserved one is in the British Museum on a mummy, No. 6665, from Thebes, dated about BC. 800, being the mummy of a lady of the college of Amen Rā, by name Katebet; it is in the usual shrine form; the cornice is silver, the frame gold; the centre subject is Anpu with flail and collar, seated, in gold, on a silver shrine; the ground is dark green. Another, No. 7855, is of sycamore wood, and has been covered with tempera on fine cloth; a porcelain scarab is inserted into an oval hole in the centre, and the whole coated with bitumen; it is of very coarse work.

In the same case as the pectoral of Katebet is a composition one in the usual form, with silver cornice and gold frame; the centre has a gold boat, large black porcelain scarab with gold eyes; the ground is black; above the shrine is a winged kneeling figure of Mut, in gold, hair in silver; the outer feathers of her wings are gold, the next row silver, the top black; on either side of the shrine, on a red ground, stands a figure adoring, with face, arms and feet gold, wig black, clothes silver; this mummy is very elaborately decorated with jewelry, necklaces, earrings and rings, bracelets, &c.

The painted pectorals found on the coverings of the mummies are similar to the real ones in design and colour, sometimes imitating jewelry, as in No. 15,659, of the XVIIIth dynasty, about B.C. 1600,

and in late specimens being moulded in low relief on the cartonnage, and coloured or gilded, as No. 6679, being the mummy case of Heru nét atef, of the Ptolemaic period.

#### Symbolism.

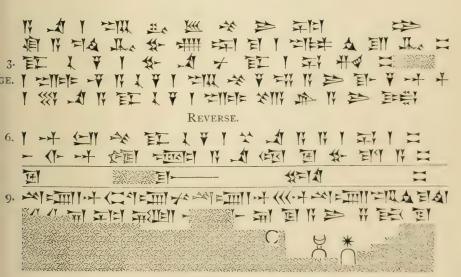
There seems to have been no special symbolism attached to the pectoral, by this I mean no fixed ritual form. The subjects all have a meaning, as would be expected from general objects, but they are very diverse, although most have allusions to Rā in some form or other, or to the resurrection, and by far the largest number to the Heart chapter of the Ritual. I almost think they were pure ornaments, perhaps at first copies of pendants worn on the collars of high officials as badges of office, somewhat similar to the breastplate that was worn by the Jewish high priest; or the earliest specimens, in gold inlay, may have been the actual pendants themselves, though I am bound to admit I have failed to find a trace of this idea in any of the various books showing sculpture or paintings from Egypt, unless it is to be found in the limestone figure of Piaai, a royal scribe under Rameses II, No. 46 in the British Museum: there he is represented as a squatting figure wearing a chain composed of long and round beads, with some plaited material, perhaps leather, between, and attached to this chain a large pectoral with the cartouches of Rameses II, and a figure of Osiris (?) in the middle; also the colossus of Rameses II at Memphis, which was raised up from the mud and turned over by Major A. H. Bagnold, shows that king wearing a pectoral suspended by a chain or band with a row of beads in the middle, vide the Proceedings of this Society for June, 1888, and the plaster cast No. 1670 in the British Museum, of the cow of Hathor and of Psammetichus, an officer of high rank in the XXVIth dynasty, shows that officer wearing a chain with a pectoral attached: the original is at Gizeh. Unfortunately but little is known of Egyptian jewelry other than funereal, which is of course always of very thin gold, but undoubtediy imitated, to a great extent, the real articles as worn. In all cases where coloured inlay has been used the heraldic system is adopted as far as possible to indicate the same.

# A BABYLONIAN DECREE THAT A CERTAIN RITE SHOULD BE PERFORMED.

By Theo, G. Pinches,

The text which I here transcribe and translate is inscribed on a fragment of a tablet (about half) in the possession of W. Harding Smith, Esq., by whose kindness I am allowed to publish it. It is the lower portion (looking on the obverse) of a tablet of baked clay, inscribed on the obverse (3 lines), edge (2 lines), and reverse (5 lines), with a total of 10 lines of writing in the late-Babylonian style. Above the text on the obverse is a blank space, on the broken edge of which traces of another line of writing are visible; and below the text on the reverse, in an uninscribed place, are the remains of an impression of a cylinder-seal in the style of the period when the tablet was written. The fragment is  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. high, 3 in. long, and  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. thick. The colour is a red grey.

#### OBVERSE.



#### TRANSCRIPTION,

A-na Ĭ Bêl-âḫê-iddina, ➢ rêš šarri, ki-a-am iķ-bu-u um-ma: Ĭ Nabû-balaṭ-su-iķ-bi,

- 3. mâri-šu ša ¶ Bu-na-nu, mâr ¶ E-gi-bi; .
  - Nabû-êţir abli-šu ša │ Bêl-šum-išk-un, abil ⇒ rabû ša parzilli;
  - 🏅 Iddina-a, mâri-šu sa 🏅 Nabû-êṭ-ir, âbil 📂 nappaḫi ;
- 6. ¶ Nergal-iddina, mâri-šu ša ¶ Gin-na-a, âbil ¶ E-gi-bi, ina pan → ♣ ♠ ♠ ♠ ♦ a-na gul-lu-bu ṭa-a-bi

lu - gal - li - bi

9. Kunuk ┡→┡ Marduk-šapik-zēri ; kunuk → P Sin-îlu ; kunuk Bêl-uball-iţ

..... Ê-sag-ila; [kunuk] ¶ Ina-Ê-ku-a 🃂 za-zak-ku. [Here, the remains of an impression of a cylinder-seal.]

#### TRANSLATION.

To Bêl-âhê-iddina, the captain of the king thus they said that "Nabû-balaţ-su-ikbî,

- 3. son of Bunanu, son of Egibi; Nabû-êţir, son of Bêl-šum-iškun, son of the ironmaster; Iddinā, son of Nabû-êţir, son of the smith;
- 6. (and) Nergal-iddina, son of Ginnā, son of Egibi, before Nin-\* to be marked is good.

Let them be marked.

9. Seal of Marduk-šapik-zēri; seal of Sin-îlu; seal of Bêl-uballiț; . . . . É-sagila; [seal of] Ina-É-kua, the zazakku.

[Here, the remains of a cylinder-seal impression, showing a shaven priest before the figures of the moon and a star, mounted upon two round-ended objects.]

As it is possible that the names of the signatories were given at the beginning (with the addition of their fathers' and remote ancestors' names, as in the case of the people mentioned in lines 2—6), the text may be restored as follows:—

"Marduk-šapik-zērî, Sin-îlu, Bêl-uballit, [Ina]-Ê-sagila (?), and Ina-Ê-kua the zazakku, said as follows to Bêl-âḥe-iddina, the king's captain (or head-man): 'It is good that Nabû-balat-su-ikbî, son of Bunanu, descendant of Êgibi; Nabû-êţir, son of Bêl-šum-iškun, descendant of the ironmaster; Iddinā, son of Nabû-êţir, descendant of the smith; and Nergal-iddina, son of Ginnā, descendant of Êgibi, be marked before the god Nin-\*'.

# "Let them be marked."

The names of the men mentioned at the beginning are then repeated, with impressions of their seals, part of one of which (described above) remains. Below the seal-impressions probably came the date, unfortunately lost, but as the name of Iddinā, son of Nabû-êţir, descendant of the smith, occurs on the tablet S.+, 564\*, we know that the text now printed must have been drawn up about 543 B.C. (the 12th year of Nabonidus).

The text is a very simple one, but its nature is not altogether certain; the meaning of the key-words (gullubu in 1. 7, and lugallibi in 1. 8) being doubtful. The root galābu was treated of by Haupt, in his Sumerische Familiengesetze, pp. 33-35 and 71, 72, in 1879, and at that time he was of opinion that it meant "to shave," and compared the Heb. בֶּלֶב, "barber," and the Chald. בֶּלֶב, "razor."† Delitzsch, however, is of opinion that gullubu means "to cut," and Meissner (Beitrage zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht, Leipzig, 1893, p. 152) follows him in this. The Akkadian equivalents of gullubu, D.P. umbin-kud, "to cut a nailmark," would agree with this latter view. >> IIY Ex, gir-šui = naglabu, seems to indicate the instrument (>>)(), gir, is a short sword or dagger) with which the cutting was done. Meissner (l.c.) points out that slaves were marked, t but in the tablet here translated the people who had to submit to the act called gullubu were certainly not slaves. It is therefore clear that the meaning of the word is still doubtful, and when we recollect that shaving the head and face was a very ancient custom in Babylonia, and that certain classes of priests, to a very

<sup>\*</sup> Strassmaier's Inschriften von Nabonidus, no. 681.

<sup>+</sup> Also Syriac C" "razor."

<sup>‡</sup> Compare also my paper in the *Proceedings* of ten years ago (April 3, 1883, p. 106, also Feb. 5, 1884, p. 102 et seq.).

late date, shaved the head (the fragment of a cylinder-seal impression at the end of this text shows the head of a shaven priest), Prof. Haupt's first suggestion can hardly be regarded as set aside by later and fuller knowledge. Judging from the statue of Aššur-nasir-apli, it would seem that that king used to wear a wig, and it is also not impossible that the beard was artificial. Whether this king had a shaven head in virtue of his priestly dignity, or not, is uncertain, as he wears both wig and beard when performing seemingly religious ceremonies.\* Of course there may have been different kinds of shaving—the head and not the face, the face and not the head, or a portion of the head (like a small monastic tonsure), as well as the whole head and face. Any of these could have been regarded as a special mark, and one of them may have been intended in the present case. It will be noted that one of the persons who were to be distinguished in this way was descendant of a "master of iron" ( sa parzilli), and another of a smith ( perhaps a blacksmith—and that both therefore, probably had to do with the production of the implements used for marking, whether razors or otherwise.

<sup>\*</sup> A reproduction of a statuette of a female wearing a wig will be found in the *Transactions*, Vol. VIII. (plate illustrating Mr. Rassam's "Recent Discoveries," p. 174). This is apparently of the time of the Assyrian dominion (Sennacherib—Saracos. See my remarks on p. 354 of the same vol.).

<sup>†</sup> This apparently indicates Ištar as daughter of Sin (cf. 1.c., 1. 22).

## THE NAME OF PHARAOH.

DEAR MR. BALL,

I have for very many years been of opinion that the origin of the name of Pharaoh cannot be Egyptian. It is a purely Hebrew designation of the King of Egypt, just as our word *Mandarin* is applied to Chinese dignitaries, in whose language the word does not exist.

It is quite true that even in very ancient times  $\Box$ , the great house,' was one of the many ways in which the king was spoken of. But there is no proof that this expression is to be read  $per\ \bar{a}a$ , or rather  $peru\ \bar{a}au$ . The sign  $\Box$  is polyphonous, and Brugsch in his great work,  $die\ Geographie\ das\ alten\ Aegyptens$ , I, pp. 23, 24, showed that in certain proper names it corresponded to the syllable pa, and sometimes to the Greek  $\beta ov$ , as in Bubastis.

I have myself, in these *Proceedings*, 7th March, 1882, quoted a very remarkable variant in which the very frequent word continuously the double house of flame' is written continuously co

In the Zeitschrift of 1872 (pp. 77, 78) I derived the Coptic word king, Orpw, from urà. In the treaty between Rameses II and the King of the Chetta, the former is styled of and the latter of pa urà āa. The latter title, which was then given to foreign princes, was subsequently adopted by the Egyptian kings, especially by those of foreign origin, such as Darius, Cambyses, and the Ptolemies.\* I cannot believe that Pharaoh is derived from this title.

At our first meeting of this Session you threw out a suggestion upon which I have reflected a good deal, and I really think you have hit the nail upon the head.

<sup>\*</sup> See references in the article of the Zeitschrift.

You referred to the opening words of the Song of Deborah and Barak, בָּבִּרעַ בָּרְעוֹת בַּיְשׂרָאָל.

A hundred years ago it was rightly said,\* "Magna est virorum doctorum in explicandis his vocibus dissensio." But this can hardly be said at the present day. There is a general consensus of authorities with the Septuagint (as represented by the Cod. Alex.) and Theodotion,  $\partial \nu \tau \psi \partial \rho \xi a \sigma \theta a \partial \rho \chi \eta \gamma \rho \partial \nu \partial \nu \partial \rho \gamma \eta \eta \rho \partial \rho \eta \lambda$ , quod praeiverunt principes in Israel (Gesenius, Thes.), "Sich behaupteten die Häupter in Israel" (Ewald, Dichter das A.B., I, p. 125), "que les chefs se soient levés en Israel" (Reuss, La Bible in loco.).

There are only two places where the word פרעות occurs, and both are poetical and archaic. Iu Deut. xxxii, 42, the word signifies princes as certainly as it does in Judges v, 2.

If we only look at an Arabic dictionary at the ramifications of the root فرع, we shall have reason to be astonished that anyone should have thought it necessary to search for the etymology of when a Semitic root like פרעה is actually staring one in the face.

Were I writing for you alone it would not be necessary to add that the words *melek*, *king*, *emperor*, *czar*, *prince*, rex,  $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \dot{\nu} s$  do not in themselves any more than Pharaoh involve the concept of sovereign rule.

I am only afraid now that people who read this will fancy that new evidence has turned up that the Pharaoh of Abraham was a Hyksos, and that the Hyksos were undoubtedly Semitic. Let us not anticipate evil! Τὸ σἡμερον μέλει μοι.

Most truly yours,

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

REV. C. J. BALL.

\* Schnurrer, Diss. Philol., p. 40.



## NOTE ON THE PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

As one of those who have endeavoured to show that the oppression of the Israelites probably occurred during the XVIIIth Dynasty, I have read with much interest the remarks of your President on the subject in the December number of your Proceedings, and I would ask leave to offer one suggestion concerning them. Is it not most likely that the words "in the land of Rameses," in Gen. xlvii, 11, and "Pithom and Raamses," in Exodus i, 11, are not part of the original text, but additions of a more or less conjectural nature, made by some archæologically-minded Jews of Alexandria, after the time of Josephus? The text in both places reads quite as well without these words as with them, and it is hardly conceivable that if they had been in the sacred books of the Temple at Jerusalem, to which Josephus had access, he, who has given us so many more details than our versions of those books contain, would have omitted those names.

It is, as the President has said, impossible to prove the truth of any theory on the subject from the Egyptian records hitherto brought before us, and it might therefore be deemed a waste of time to write about the subject at all, were it not so often stated as settled facts that Rameses II was the oppressor, and that his son Merenptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The objections to this view are, firstly, that the time between Merenptah and Shishak is barely sufficient for the events narrated in Hebrew history between the Exodus and Rehoboam (without regard to the periods assigned to them), even on the supposition that Merenptah began to reign 1322 B.C., and utterly insufficient if, as some say, his reign did not commence till 1200 B.C., and, secondly, the extreme improbability that Rameses, who had several sons, would have countenanced the bringing up of an alien foundling as the heir to his throne. Neither of these objections applies to the theory which I was permitted to place before your Society in February, 1890, and which I would

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take this opportunity of reviewing in the light of the recent discoveries by Professor Petrie at Tell el-Amarna.

It now appears that the reign of Khuenaten (who in my opinion was the first oppressor of the Israelites) lasted for 17 years only instead of 37. It would therefore have been his eldest daughter Meri Aten who adopted Moses, which agrees very well with the tradition mentioned by Dr. Wiedemann, that the princess in question was Merris, daughter of Palmanothis, king of Egypt, and wife of Chenephres, king of Egypt. Tia, the wife of Ai, whom I have suggested as the Thermuthis of Josephus, and who is said to have been the nurse of Khuenaten, was certainly a person of note at the court of the latter, and probably in attendance upon Meri Aten, and associated with her in bringing up the infant. The family life of Khuenaten, who is depicted with his wife and daughter sitting on his knee, is also more consistent with the account given by Josephus of the placing of the infant Moses in the arms of the oppressor by the princess than anything that we know of any other Egyptian king. If, as I have suggested, the flight of Moses took place shortly before the accession of Horemhebi and his return on the death of that sovereign, he would have been about thirty when he left Egypt, and about fifty-two when he returned, and if Rameses I were the king of the Exodus, the journey through the wilderness would have lasted through the reign of Seti I (which is not now thought to have extended over many years) and through the first few years of that of Rameses II; indeed, it may be doubted whether they had made much impression on the south of Palestine before the reign of Rameses III. These suggestions, while showing how the histories of Israel and Egypt may be most conveniently fitted together, do not, of course, comply literally with our text of the Old Testament, but neither does the Rameses and Merenptah theory, nor any other theory which has been or can be advanced and which can be harmonized with the contemporary Egyptian records.

Yours truly,

A. L. Lewis.

54, Highbury Hill, N.

# THE ACHMETHAS OR ECBATANAS OF WESTERN ASIA.

# By WILLIAM F. AINSWORTH, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

Treasuries, as also "treasure-houses," are frequently referred to in Holy Writ. So great is their antiquity, that they may be considered as coëval with the search for security to property. According to Exodus i, 2, the Israelites when dwelling in the land of Goshen built treasure cities (Pithom and Raamses), for Pharaoh.

With the progress of time, came cities with strong castles, citadels, or strongholds, as treasuries, and they constitute the Achmethas or Ecbatanas of Western Asia.

The first mention of such is met with in the Books of Ezra, when the captive Jews, desirous of proceeding with the rebuilding of the temple, sought for the decree of Cyrus enabling them to do so in "the house of rolls" in Babylon, and not finding it there, it was sought for and found at Achmetha "in the palace that is in the province of the Medes." (Ezra vii, 11.) The translators have put Ecbatana in the margin, and this, in the form of Ecbatana and Acbatana, as also Egbatana and Agbatana, were the Greek renderings of Achmetha.

#### THE ECBATANA OF GREATER MEDIA.

The Achmetha here alluded to has been generally identified with Hamadan, the name of which has been looked upon as a modernised pronunciation of Achmetha. In the Syriac we find the word indeed in a transition state—Achmathana, and Hamadan is often written Amadan. Amadiya, the Ecbatana of Assyria, is another form of the same word.

Hamadan was a very strong place, built, according to Herodotus, by Dejoces, but according to Judith (1, xxiv) by Arphaxad, king of the Medes. Whether of Median or Persian origin, there seems to be little doubt as to its claim to represent the Achmetha of the captive Jews.

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THE ECBATANA OF LESSER MEDIA OR OF ATROPATENE.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, while admitting that Hamadan occupies the site of the Ecbatana of Greater Media, has an elaborate and exhaustive paper in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society (Vol. X) in which he endeavours to show that the present Takhti-Sulaïman, or "Throne of Solomon," was the site of another—the Atropatenian Ecbatana; and that to it, rather than to the Ecbatana of Greater Media, the statements of Herodotus and most of the ancient accounts are to be understood to refer. Sir Henry Rawlinson seems also inclined to consider the Ecbatana of the Apocryphal Books as his Atropatenian Ecbatana, but is rather more doubtful in claiming it as the Achmetha of Ezra. If any doubts could be suggested as to the sites of the different Ecbatanas, the claims of the Babylonian Ecbatana (Kir-Kūk) and of the Persian Ecbatana (Pasagarda) would also have to be duly considered.

A contributor to the "Bible Dictionary" (Art. Media) says: "The principal city of Media for many centuries was Ecbatana, but it has been very much disputed where this stood. The Rev. J. Williams (Essays on the Geography of Ancient Asia) maintains it was at Ispahan. (This owing to the difficulty in explaining the movements of Alexander the Great, when the existence of a Babylonian Ecbatana was overlooked.) Sir William Jones thought it was at Tabriz, and d'Anville and others have placed it at Hamadan. The last opinion seems to be correct; but we must add that some writers, with Mr. Ainsworth, believe in two Median Ecbatanas, one at Hamadan and one at Takht-i-Sulaïman."

If we admit the two great divisions of Media as given by Strabo, and the exhaustive researches of Sir Henry Rawlinson in Azārbaijan (Atropatene), there is no getting over the fact that there were two Ecbatanas in Media.

I cannot help remarking here, however, that justice has scarcely been done to the vast additions to our knowledge of the comparative geography of Western Asia made by Sir Henry Rawlinson, but it will be done some day, when our intimacy with the countries in question increases.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Pliny applied the title of Ecbatana to the Arsacidan stronghold of Europus (VI, 19), but Sir Henry Rawlinson tells us that this Ecbatana, the Ragau of the Book of Tobit, and Rhagos of Alexander, is represented by the remarkable ruins of Kal'eh Erig, near Veramin. The ruins of Arsacia are to be seen at Shehri-Toghan, twelve miles south of Veramin. (Journal R.G.S., X, 135.)

## THE ECBATANA OF BABYLONIA.

The fact that the Babylonians—at all events in later times—had a treasury or stronghold (Ecbatana) in the mountains, must depend a good deal upon the authority of Plutarch; but that authority happens, by the details that accompany it, to be alike clear and irrefutable.

The historian and biographer, in his life of Alexander the Great, describes the conqueror as proceeding, after the battle of Arbela, through the province of Babylonia, to Ecbatana, where he was particularly struck with a gulf of fire which streamed continually from an inexhaustible source. He was surprised also by the flood of naphtha, not far from the gulf, which flowed in such abundance that it formed a lake.

Now such a phenomenon as this is not to be met with at any of the known Ecbatanas, and only (excepting at Baku) at Kir-Kūk, in Babylonia or on its confines. The Arabs call the naphtha fires at this place, Abû Geger, and the Turks, Kurkur Baba, both signifying the same thing, "Father of Naphtha." When the writer was there in 1837, the fires were burning, not in a gulf, but on a low hill or eminence. The flames issued from openings in a marly rock, and they burnt with intense ardour, but the light produced by them was most distinct at night. There were some twenty of these openings, but wherever a stick was thrust into the ground, it was followed by a jet of flame. As these fires were burning in the time of Alexander the Great, and in 1837, it may be presumed that they are doing so in the present day. Naphtha was collected by the natives at the same epoch from seven different springs, as usual of saline waters, at the foot of the hill. These may have accumulated into a small lake in the time of the Macedonian conqueror. It may be remarked of the ater-gash, pyræa or fire-altars of the Parsis or Fire-worshippers that they were frequently - more especially in Susiana—connected by a tube with naphtha springs, and the vapour being lighted, ensured a perpetual flame.

The mere existence of naphtha springs and perpetual fires, does not establish an Ecbatana; but close by there exists a town or city, in the midst of which rises a lofty rock, crowned by a castle of vast dimensions, only comparable to the castles of Arbela, Amadiya and Urfah. Arbela may also have been an Ecbatana, but we have no

historical reference to it as such. Unfortunately the interior of the castle at Kir-Kūk is a mass of ruin.

Kir-Kūk has been identified with the Kor-Kuk or Gorkuk of Ptolemy, but there seems to be no doubt, from the evidence of Plutarch, that it was also once an Ecbatana, and the confusion brought about by commentators of Arrian, Quintus Curtius, and other historians of Alexander's movements, as well as by geographers of old in seeking for an Ecbatana in Media or Persia, when the Macedonian hero was on his way to Susa, is most deserving of future correction.

#### THE ECBATANA OF ASSYRIA.

We are indebted to Mr. Rich, formerly Resident at Baghdad, and a well known writer on Babylon and Kurdistan, for first pointing out that the Castle of Amadiya—the strongest fortress in all Kurdistan-was an Assyrian Ecbatana.\* According to Mr. Rich, this castle retains the title of Ikbadan. But under either name its present appellation would indicate a modification of Achmetha. Sir Henry Rawlinson—who punctuates the word 'Amádíyáh—does not believe in an Assyrian Ecbatana, but neither he, nor Mr. Rich had actually visited Amadiya, and when we consider the vast dimensions of its castle, situated as it is on a lofty precipitous rock, approached only on one side, its ascent protected by strong portals, with colossal representations of Assyrian monarchs sculptured on the rock side, one cannot but feel that it was well worthy of being an Ecbatana of the Assyrians. Unlike the castles of Kirkûk, Arbela, and Urfah, it had not, however, a city around it or on the plain below. The habitations appear to have been confined from olden times, as they are in the present day, owing to its seclusion, and the insecurity of its position, to the castle itself. It was when the writer visited it garrisoned by Arnauts in the pay of the Pasha of Mosul.

## THE ECBATANA OF PERSIA.

Pliny says: "Ad orientem Magi obtinet Pasargardas castellum, in quo Cyri sepulchrum est: et horum Echatana oppidum translatum ab. Dario rego ad montes." † The passage here quoted would seem to

<sup>\*</sup> Narrative of a Journey in Kurdistan, Vol. I, p. 153.

<sup>†</sup> Plinius, lib. VI, c. 29.

indicate that the Castle of Pasargada (written variously by the classical geographers, Pasargadis, Pasargada, and Pasargadæ) stood apart from Persepolis, and in the mountains, nigh the tomb of Cyrus, at Mūrgh-āb. The fact however that there was an Ecbatana -whether a castle or a city, as Pliny would intimate—is corroborated by numerous authorities. Sir Henry Rawlinson however says that the Persian Ecbatana of Pliny and Josephus (Antig., lib. X, c. 11, s. 7) can only be represented by the treasury citadel of Persepolis, and in a note he calls it the palace or castle of Persepolis. This is most likely the case, but the two statements are difficult to reconcile. Perhaps Pliny meant that Darius removed the Magi from the Median Ecbatana to Pasargada. One of the castellated rocks near Persopolis is called Takht-i-Kūr, or 'Throne of Cyrus,' according to Colonel Shee, a ripe Persian scholar, who accompanied the writer to Persepolis. There are however several castles on the rocky heights of the neighbourhood: the best known is that called Istakhar, with its twin sisters, Sheikusteh and Shemgan, with their respective strongholds. There is also the Castle of Shah Rik, on an isolated rock, whose governor is said to have been slain in defending the place against the Saracens in the seventh century.

It is not improbable that Mal-i-Mir—the Aidîj of the Oriental geographers, and probably the city of Elymais, sacked by Antiochus and Mithridates on account of its wealth—may have been a treasure-stronghold of the Achæmenian kings of Susa. But we have no data to go upon until the inscriptions at the latter place are deciphered.

## THE ECBATANAS OF SYRIA.

Gaza, by its name, its antiquity, and its historical renown, stands unquestionably at the head of the Ecbatanas of Syria. The Atropatenian Ecbatana having had the same name, Sir Henry Rawlinson said the Greeks uniformly asserted their adoption of the word Gaza, 'a treasury,' from the Persian. The root, however, he remarks, is of Semitic origin, so he only looks upon it as "very early naturalised in Persia." But Gaza, in Syria, is described as early as Genesis (x, 19) as one of the border cities of the Canaanites. The name occurs also in Deut. ii, 28; and as Azzah in Josh. x, 41; xi, 42. Stephanus says, "etiam Aza vocatur et usque hodie Syris Azam illam ad pellant." Such names could scarcely have had a Persian origin, and they appear to have been corruptions of Achmetha, or, as

Sir Henry Rawlinson suggests in another place (Journ. R.G.S., Vol. X, p. 157), "a translation of Ecbatana."

Gaza was held in succession by Avims, Caphtorims, Anakims, Philistines, Egyptians, and Israelites. Conquered by Cambyses, it is here also that the Persian monarch is said to have died, and Stephanus relates that the oracles having foretold that he would perish in an Ecbatana, he thought that the prediction attached itself to the Ecbatana of Media, while, as Herodotus remarks (III, LXIV), the oracle had reference to the Ecbatana of Syria. It seems then that the confusion ever existing between different Ecbatanas dates back to this remote period.

Pliny (V, xix) notices Carmelus or Carmel as a promontory, and he adds that on the mountain was a city of the same name, which was an Ecbatana. Some have associated the death of Cambyses with this Ecbatana, but it seems to have been but a secondary stronghold, occupying the site of what was once a temple, and now a monastery (*Tacitus*, lib. II, *Hist.*, cap. LXXVIII). Pomponius Mela (I, xi) describe Ecbatana, where Cambyses perished, as "ingens urbs et munita," and they add that the Persian king was attracted thither by its wealth and riches. This would scarcely apply to the lesser stronghold of Carmelus or Carmel.

#### THE TREASURIES OF PARTHIA.

According to Isidorus of Charax, the Parthians had a Gaza, or treasury, at Anatho, or Anatha (Anah on the Euphrates), known as Phraates Gaza. The same writer describes the stronghold as being situated on an island. Ammianus Marcellinus attributes the same position to it, "Anathan munimentum quod Euphrates circumluebat"; and Zozimus speaks of an island on which was a castle, which opened its gates to Julian. There are several islands on the Euphrates at Anah, and most have ruins of olden edifices, beautifully clad in verdure, but in the present day chiefly belonging to Muhammadam times. According to Ibn Hankal, the castle of Anatho was afterwards called Hisn Musalamah, from a Muhammedan of that name who restored it. Ptolemy makes mention of two fortresses, which he calls Addæa and Pacoria, the latter from Pacorus, a Parthian king, father to Phraates; so the stronghold appears to have been in existence before the time of the latter king.

The Persians, on their side, erected under Teridates an opposition stronghold, also on an island of the Euphrates, twelve scheeni below Anatho. This island is called Olabus by Isidorus, but by Ptolemy, Teridata. Ammianus Marcellinus called it, in the time of Julian, Thilutha. It is now known as Tilbes, or Telbes.

So strong was this place, that whilst Julian entered Anatho in triumph, to use the words of Gibbon, "the impregnable fortress of Thilutha could scorn the menace of a siege, and the Emperor was obliged to content himself with an insulting promise, that when he had subdued the interior provinces of Persia, Thilutha would no longer refuse to grace the triumph of a conqueror."

The two names, Pacoria and Teridates, Cellarius justly pointed out (*Not. Orbis. Antiq.*, Vol. II, p. 610), "have reference to a Parthian and Persian sovereign"; and hence it is that in the time of Julian the Parthians held Anah and the Persians Tilbes as a limit to their power.

A remarkable passage occurs in Tacitus (lib. XV, cap. xxxi); when writing of the movements of Tiridates, he says, "Digressus Pacorum apud Medos, Vologesen Echatanis repperit." Cellarius quotes upon this Th. Ryckius, who remarks, "Mirum, quod Pacorum apud Medos repertum, Vologesen Echatanis, quasi Echatana, quæ mediæ metropolis, in Medis non fuerint."

But the passage becomes quite clear when we find that Teridates had a stronghold near Pacorus, held by the Medes or Parthians, and that he repaired thence by the Euphrates to the Ecbatana of Vologeses. Vologeses was a king of the Parthians, who lived in the time of Nero, and he founded a city on the Maarsares, or Western Euphrates; according to the Peutingerian tables, xxiii millibus, from Babylon. Ptolemy calls it Vologesia, and Pliny Vologesscerta: cert, or kert, being a well known Parthian name for a stronghold, as in Tigrano-Certa.

Little however is known of this remote, and probably evanescent Ecbatana. As Cellarius remarks upon the better known Gaza:—" Quod vero in Syria etiam hujus nomininis oppidum fuit, uti ex Cambyses fato notum est; hæc urbs sæpius cum Mediæ cognomento vocitatur." (II, 669.)

The Vologesian Ecbatana is another example of the same kind; and owing to the Babylonian and Assyrian Ecbatanas having been so constantly overlooked, the confusion of Ecbatanas—the one with the other—is so great, that it would require a paper of

inordinate length to enumerate and elucidate them. Nor does the writer by any means assume that he has exhausted the possible number of Achmethas, or Ecbatanas—cities with strongholds and treasuries—or Gazas, or castellated treasuries, to be met with in Western Asia. He has merely attempted to enumerate and distinguish from one another such as are as yet known, and which possess an historical interest, so as, if possible, to prevent further confusion.



# ÉTUDE SUR ABYDOS.

PAR E. LEFÉBURE.

# L'Office des Morts a Abydos.

I.

Il y a, au chapitre 17 du Livre des Morts, un passage qui s'explique presque entièrement par une cérémonie d'Abydos.

Voici le texte du Todtenbuch: cet Osiris un tel est celui qui a traversé pur (ou sauf, la Mesek-t, et celui à qui l'on a donné (ou apporté, la Mesek-t, et celui à qui l'on a donné (ou les gâteaux, variantes d'après un texte thébain,†) le gâteau (ou les gâteaux, variantes les entrailles d'Osiris. Celui à qui l'on a donné, le gâteau de Tehen dans Tanent, c'est le ciel et la terre; ou bien: le gâteau de Tehen dans Tanent, c'est le ciel et la terre; ou bien: c'est le châtiment des deux terres par Shu, l'expression ou ne signifie pas celui qui donne, mais celui a qui l'on donne, comme dans

<sup>\*</sup> Lepsius, Aelteste Texte, pl. 19, 1-59 et 60.

<sup>+</sup> Naville, Todtenbuch, II, pl. 69.

<sup>‡</sup> Lepsius, Todtenbuch, ch. 17, l. 79-83; et Naville, Todtenbuch, II, pl. 69 et 70.

Le chapitre 176 du Todtenbuch est ainsi conçu: Formule pour ne pas recommencer à mourir dans la contrée divine d'en dessous.—C'est mon horreur le pays de l'Est; || que je n'entre pas à l'abattoir, qu'on ne me fasse pas celles des choses qui sont en horreur aux dieux, car je suis celui qui a traversé, pur, la Mesekt, et à qui le Maître de l'univers a donné son talisman, 

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au talisman, ou Tehen.

La solennité d'Abydos est représentée dans le tombeau de Rekhmara,¶ où se voient les funérailles fictives des personnages de distinction auprès d'Osiris : là, le convoi funèbre, qui aborde à Thinis, puis à Abydos,\*\* fait trois visites, une à Osiris, une à Anubis, une à la déesse de l'Occident, et c'est pendant la première que se pratique un rite, point essentiel de la cérémonie, qui met en scène le renseignement du *Todtenbuch*.

chapitre 17, montre bien comment il faut traduire la formule relative

<sup>\*</sup> Naville, Todtenbuch, ch. 17, pl. 65, et ch. 181, l. 17.

<sup>†</sup> Id., ch. 181, l. 19.

<sup>‡</sup> Id., l. 22.

<sup>§</sup> Id., ch. 43; et Sarcophage de Horhotep, l. 367-8.

<sup>||</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 93.

<sup>¶</sup> Virey, Le Tombeau de Rekhmara, pl. 25-27, et L'Episode d'Aristée, p. 9-10.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Cf. Merenra, l. 104.

Aussitôt après a lieu l'arrivée; le Kher-heb est à terre, derrière un her-ur agenouillé devant une table d'offrandes, puis deux autres her-ur, 🌪 🔙 III, présentent la cuisse de bœuf à chacun des deux poteaux d'abordage, celui de l'avant et celui de l'arrière, Egyptiens faisaient du poteau d'Abydos une déesse, et son appel est souvent mentionné aux pyramides royales;\* (on est ici au port de Thinis;) après le sacrifice d'un bœuf, la barque arrive à l'Occident (par le canal d'Abydos), avec un semer au gouvernail, un her-ur à la proue, et un flambeau devant la tente, indice que la cérémonie avait lieu la nuit. A l'Occident figurent quatorze chapelles consacrées à différents dieux funéraires, et une salle où sont deux bouffons,+ coiffés du même bonnet de roseaux, ou à jour,‡ que les baladines d'une scène reproduite par Wilkinson; s ce sont les , mot analogue à , nom du nain ou farceur égyptien, le Nemma.

Tout ce début est séparé du voyage de la seconde barque, amenant sur un lit le coffre qui est censé contenir la momie ou ses entrailles. L'arrivée de la seconde barque aux deux mouillages comporte des offrandes d'eau et d'encens aux deux poteaux de l'avant et de l'arrière. Les deux barques ainsi parvenues au même point, on voit les prêtres, dont les uns s'en vont et dont les autres reviennent, dans une vaste place qui a, au centre, un bassin ombragé qu'entourent huit bœufs de sacrifice, puis, à l'extrémité, une liste ou table d'offrandes, un bassin dans un groupe de palmiers, et quatre autres bassins devant lesquels les pleureuses, à genoux, tiennent chacune deux vases.

<sup>\*</sup> Pepi I, l. 611; Merenra, l. 101, 330, 415; etc.

<sup>†</sup> Cf. Denkmaeler, III, pl. 11, e.

<sup>‡</sup> Champollion, Notices, I, p. 493.

<sup>§</sup> Manners and Customs of the ancient Egyptians, édition Birch, II, p. 54.

<sup>||</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 17, 1. 81.

Kheru-heb, les Sahu et les Semeru s'écrient : debout ! Poussez vos

acclamations multipliées! Asseyez-vous, et accomplissez votre acte de salut magique! Que la nécropole soit à un tel! Les portes ne sont pas encore ouvertes: un Kher-heb debout, un Neter-ta et un Amkhent assis, le Sem qui frappe deux bâtons l'un contre l'autre, sorte d'appel, et les deux pleureuses qui présentent l'encens, se tiennent dans l'attente devant le premier pylône du temple. Le pylône franchi, trois flambeaux sont placés derrière un personnage pelotonné et enveloppé sur un lit : le Kher-heb offre l'encens et fait poser les flambeaux, puis: faire venir à la cité de la Peau, et en arrivant se coucher sous elle au bassin de Kheper, The state of the s d'Abydos est 😂 😭 🚉 † la cité de Kheper ; 🙇 ♂ n'a pas ici son déterminatif, mais on le trouve au Todtenbuch: † pars, va vers lui, tête-à-tête, A ne approchant du Mesek du ciel, ou de la Meskhen-t, , car les deux groupes ont été employés en variante par le scribe).

La cérémonie est presque terminée: le Sem et un Semer purifient par des libations d'eau une nouvelle porte dont les côtés Sud et Nord sont indiqués, un Suten-rekh, , | pioche quatre fois sous deux obélisques que deux autres Suten-rekh semblent étayer, le Kherheb se présente devant un veau lié pour le sacrifice et une des pleureuses qui offre du collyre, du pain et des étoffes, puis le départ commence; les Am-Khentu, ( | pour | pour | à peu près comme ( pour | pour | pour | pour | ), ¶ se jettent dans le canal, | pour | po

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Rekhmara, pl. 24.

<sup>†</sup> J. de Rougé, Edfou, pl. 93; et Brugsch, Dictionnaire géographique, p. 715-6.

<sup>‡</sup> Ch. 58, l. 2, et ch. 122, l. 2.

<sup>§</sup> Cf. Id. ch. 72, 1. 5.

<sup>#</sup> Cf. Flinders Petrie, Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob, pl. 9, 14; id., A Season in Egypt, pl. 13, No. 337; Denkmaeler, II, pl. 151, e; et Abydos, III, No. 1394.

<sup>¶</sup> Rekhmara, pl. 36.

pour retourner la barque à tente et flambeau des prêtres, et l'équipage se précipite vers Osiris pour le saluer, A c'est le Virement de bord en retournant vers le haut du canal, en face de l'Escalier (le chemin du temple), afin de débarquer à la grande ville du nome Thinite, c'est-à-dire à Thinis:

En comparant cette description avec le passage du *Todtenbuch*, on voit que les particularités des funérailles d'Osiris étaient reproduites au voyage des morts à Abydos. Le Kher-heb ou officiant, qui représentait le défunt, passait sous le Mesek comme Anubis, le Kher-heb d'Osiris, ;\* de plus, le défunt recevait un gâteau de Tehen comme Osiris, le dieu d'Abydos. Ce dernier rite, complément du premier, ne figure pas explicitement au tombeau de Rekhmara, mais un texte des pyramides royales le mentionne conjointement avec celui du Mesek, comme on le verra plus loin lorsque celui du Mesek aura été expliqué.

#### H.

Quels que soient ses déterminatifs, le mot mesek se ramène toujours à son sens primitif de peau, ainsi que l'a remarqué M. Brugsch.† Avec ce sens propre il se dit de l'épiderme de l'homme‡ comme du cuir de l'animal, et se trouve souvent employé lorsqu'il s'agit de Typhon ou des bêtes qui le personnifient. Sefekh, la déesse-Calame, s'enveloppe le corps d'une peau de Nehes, qui est dans ce cas une peau de panthère, A D D S il est parlé de sandales en mesek de Nehes;

<sup>\*</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 145, l. 31.

<sup>†</sup> Brugsch, Supplément au Dictionnaire, p. 643.

<sup>‡</sup> Pierret, Vocabulaire hiéroglyphique, p. 238.

<sup>§</sup> Dendérah, iv, pl. 82.

<sup>||</sup> Duemichen, Geschichte des alten Aegyptens, p. 162.

Lune, etc.

la pique d'Horus et le fer du prêtre fendent la peau de l'hippopotame, \*\*, \*\* comme du taureau rouge, † et si les attaches de l'échelle céleste sont faites avec le d'un dieu né de la vache Heset, ‡ les cuirs de la barque infernale sont faits aussi, à ce qu'il semble, d'une peau, de Mnévis marquée en rouge, ou marquée par Set. § Le Rituel de l'Embaumement nous apprend même que le mesek des funérailles était la peau de Set :

pleuré par ses sœurs dans Mendès et Abydos, se lève le jour, comme le bel éclat du Soleil brillant sur tout pays, paraît la nuit en belle

Ce détail fait entrevoir qu' à l'origine on ensevelissait les morts dans des peaux de bêtes provenant ou non d'un sacrifice funéraire, pratique jadis employée par les Colchidiens,¶ qu' Hérodote croyait venus d'Egypte,\*\* et encore en usage de nos jours sur le Haut Nil.†† Une des momies de Deïr el-Bahari, celle d'un jeune prince thébain anonyme, était entourée d'une peau de mouton, en souvenir peut-être, bien que la laine fût impure dès le moyen Empire au moins,‡‡ de la coutume thébaine d'après laquelle on enveloppait la statue d'Ammon, une fois par an, avec la peau d'un bélier sacrifié.§§ Osiris, qui est représenté sur une peau de mouton dans un papyrus magique

<sup>\*</sup> Naville, Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus, pl. 5, l. 2, et. pl. 11, l. 5.

<sup>†</sup> Dendérah, iv, pl. 85, b.

<sup>‡</sup> Pepi II, l. 976.

<sup>§</sup> Naville, Todtenbuch, ch. 99, pl. 224.

<sup>||</sup> Maspero, Sur quelques papyrus du Louvre, p. 40.

<sup>¶</sup> Fragmenta Historicorum Gracorum, ii, p. 380; Apollonius de Rhodes, Argonautiques, iii, 202; et Elien, Variæ Historiæ, iv, 1.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Hérodote, II, 104.

<sup>††</sup> Cf. Andrew Lang, The Nineteenth Century, September, 1886, Egyptian Divine Myths, p. 440.

II Maspero, Mélanges d'archéologie, X, Le Papyrus de Berlin No. 1, p. 158; cf. Plutarque, de Iside et Osiride, 4.

<sup>§§</sup> Hérodote, II, 42.

du British Museum,\* avait été enseveli dans une vache de bois, d'après Diodore,† comme la fille de Mycérinus, d'après Hérodote.‡

Tombées en désuétude, ces pratiques furent remplacées par des équivalents, ainsi que le montrent différents indices : on transporta les momies à la nécropole sous un tapis de cuir, s comme celui de la princesse Astemkheb, ou bien sous un ciel à charpente de bois, sorte de dais recouvert de cuir, et appelé la peau dans l'histoire de Sineh,

Être sous le cuir, c'était être mort, et métaphoriquement la tombe fut aussi la peau; c'est pourquoi l'annonce que les baufs trainent (la momie) vers la demeure du corps, est exprimée ainsi au tombeau d'Anna (dix-huitième dynastie): les bœufs vigoureux traînent (le prince) vers le Mesek, -e-déformé par le graveur, ou par le temps, avec o pour 1 et 🗏 pour , le mot Mesek est facilement reconnaissable ici.

Le mort mis dans une peau, ou sous une peau, semblait obtenir par là l'excellence ou tout au moins la protection de l'animal dont la dépouille l'entourait, comme ces anciens Ethiopiens qui s'étranglaient avec une queue de vache,†† ou ces modernes Hindous qui tiennent en expirant la queue d'une vache. S'afflubler d'une peau de victime, en effet, a toujours paru un des plus sûrs moyens de s'approprier la vertu du sacrifice, à preuve la peau de bélier qu'avait à ses pieds le futur myste se purifiant aux Eleusinies, ‡‡ les toisons de béliers dont se revêtaient les prêtres de Zeus allant conjurer la Canicule sur le Pélion, la peau de brebis dont les visiteurs d'Hiérapolis, en Syrie, se couvraient avant de partir, || et la peau de bœuf sur laquelle s'asseyaient les Scythes qui voulaient contracter une alliance. T

+ Diodore, III, 32.

<sup>\*</sup> Birch, Revue Archéologique, 1863, p. 438.

<sup>†</sup> I, 85. ‡ II, 132.

<sup>§</sup> Cf. Champollion, Notices, I, p. 491; et Wilkinson, The ancient Egyptians, édition Birch, pl. 61.

<sup>||</sup> Denkmaeler, VI, pl. 106, l. 193-4. ¶ Rekhmara, pl. 21.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Champollion, Notices, I, p. 836. ## Suidas, Διὸς κώδιον.

<sup>§§</sup> Dicéarque, dans les Fragmenta Historicorum gracorum, II, p. 262.

III De Dea Syria, 55. III Lucien, Toxaris, 47-8. 439 2 H

Mais les Egyptiens ne s'en tinrent pas à cette conception initiale. Comme toute chose a son bon et son mauvais côté, l'idée fâcheuse de la mort fit de la peau un emblème funeste et par conséquent typhonien, d'une part, d'autre part, comme le *processus* polythéiste assimile la nature à l'humanité, chaque défaillance divine devint une mort humaine, et les dieux passèrent aussi sous la peau.

Duns la représentation commémorative des obsèques d'Osiris, son Kher-heb divin, c'est-à-dire Anubis ou Horus, traversait pour lui le Mesek, comme le chapitre 17 du Todtenbuch l'a montré pour Anubis, et comme le montrera pour Horus un passage de la stèle Metternich, l. 74–76: me voici, me voici, mon fils Horus, dit Isis au jeune dieu (Kher-heb et Simeref de son père),\* sois sans crainte, sois sans crainte, fils de mon bonheur! Il ne t'arrivera rien de mal; tu as en toi l'essence du créateur des êtres, tu es le fils qui est au milieu du Pays de la peau, et qui sort du Nun; tu ne périras pas par le feu du venin,

L'hiéroglyphe de la terre accompagnant là le mot, o, indique bien que la peau avait pris avec les dieux un sens de plus en plus symbolique. Ce sens est précisé dans un hymne à la divinité solaire, reproduit au papyrus magique Harris et au temple d'El-Khargeh: † The half of the foint et ta mère l'étreint quand tu franchis l'horizon, l'Occident tend les bras pour te recevoir, et tous les êtres l'adorent quand tu te couches dans l'enfer à l'heure de la nuit: tu réveilles Osiris par tes rayons, etc. Ici le Mesek a pour déterminatif, outre la peau, le firmament. C'est le ciel souterrain ou le pays infernal franchi la nuit par le soleil, et symbolisé dans les Livres qui décrivent l'enfer, notamment au début de la Litanie, par un crocodile, un serpent et un taureau (celui de la peau, sans doute). De là vinrent les serpents, les taureaux et les crocodiles à une ou à deux têtes, que traversait l'astre dans son voyage nocturne, semblable à celui de ce dieu de la Nouvelle Zélande qui descendit dans le corps de la nuit, son aïeule.

<sup>\*</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 145, l. 19.

<sup>†</sup> Chabas, Le papyrus magique Harris, pl. vi, l. 3-4; Birch, Transactions, v, part i, l. 18-9; et Brugsch, Thesaurus, iv, p. 633, l. 14.

<sup>‡</sup> Denkmaeler, iii, pl. 134, a.

remarquera à ce propos, sans parler de Peau d'âne, de l'outre d'Eole et de la tente ou du sac auxquels la Bible compare le ciel,\* que les Orphiques voyaient le firmament étoilé dans la nébride tachetée d'Osiris.†

Le temple, qui a en Egypte un caractère funèbre et infernal si marqué, fut à son tour assimilé à la peau, pour les hommes ce qu'elle était pour les dieux, c'est-à-dire un emblème de l'enfer ou, plus exactement, de l'entrée de l'enfer. Aussi, à son arrivée dans l'autre monde et devant la barque infernale, l'Egyptien adressait-il aux divinités de la justice une prière souvent répétée sur les sarcophages: Salut à vous, ô Bons, Génies, Maîtres de la Justice, qui êtes vivants pour l'éternité! Ne me détruisez pas au Mesek, que les impies chapitre 99 du Todtenbuch, l. 30-1, et, ajoute le chapitre 72, 1. 5-6, ne me repoussez pas de vos portes, ne fermez point vos battants pour moi, allusion à l'entrée de l'âme dans l'enfer et peut-être aussi, par un retour aux choses terrestres, à l'entrée du corps dans le tombeau, d'où un jugement pouvait l'exclure s'il faut en croire Diodore.§ Ici, le mot Mesek est déterminé par la pierre du supplice. On trouve la réponse à ce texte, qui est intitulé au chapitre 72 Formule pour sortir le jour et ouvrir Amehet, sur les sarcophages du moyen Empire. Les Bons, les Génics, les Maîtres des choses, qui existent pour l'éternité, disent : l'Osiris un tel, qu'il ouvre Amehet, qu'il force la résistance des portes pour pénétrer dans le mystère de cette Mesekt, voie le dieu qui est là. ¶

La même idée du Mesek ou plutôt de la Mesekt, car le mot était surtout féminin dans le sens de contrée, se révèle aux pyramides royales: Unas chemine vers son palais, le Taureau du grand bassin\*\* le protège, le Rugissant † ne prend pas se, mets sur la grande barque, il

<sup>\*</sup> Psaume civ, 2; Isaïe, 50, 3; etc. † Diodore, i, II.

<sup>‡</sup> Brugsch, Zeitschrift, 1875, p. 122. § I, 72, 92 et 93.

<sup>||</sup> Cf. Chabas, Le Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes, p. 35.

<sup>. ¶</sup> Recueil, XII, p. 37.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Cf. Champollion, Notices, I, p. 407.

<sup>++</sup> Cf. Amtuat, sixième heure, premier registre.

ne le repousse pas de la Salle d'éclairage\* des grands vers la Mesekt du firmament infernal, & a first of the state of the s voit son corps dans la barque de la nuit,† par laquelle Unas effectue le voyage, il distingue l'Urœus dans la barque du jour dont Unas apporte l'écope, les hommes l'examinent, les cyclones du ciel l'enlèvent et conduisent Unas au Soleil.‡ Le même texte est dans la pyramide de Teta avec quelques variantes, notamment celle-ci : la Salle d'éclairage des grands ne le repousse pas vers la Mesekt du firmament infernal, (dans le mot Mesekt, qui n'a pas ici le déterminatif du chemin, le signe & est une petite faute du graveur pour (1). Aux pyramides de Pepi I, de Merenra et de Pepi II, cette phrase fait partie d'une formule différente: He! Batelier! J'apporte ceci à Horus: j'apporte son wil. J'apporte ceci à Set : j'apporte son scrotum. En cheminant, l'Œil d'Horus est tombé de la partie orientale du ciel, et en cheminant avec lui tu es tombé de la partie orientale du ciel, (mais) Merenra vient et pratique son acte de salut magique pour le Soleil dans le séjour des dieux, guides de leurs Génies, qui vivent aux demeures d'Horus et vivent aux demeures de Set. Merenra arrive, Merenra paraît, il atteint le haut du ciel, la Salle d'éclairage des grands ne le repousse point vers la Mesekt du firmament infernal, \* x, la barque du jour appelle Merenra, voici qu'il l'écope, et Ra fait de Merenra le premier

D'après ces textes, la Mesekt appartient au Sehetu ou Sehut, que déterminent le firmament et l'étoile, et qui a des portes de fer, d'après une formule,††

des Immortels.\*\*

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Merenra, 1. 207, Pepi II, 1. 669, et Recueil, XIV, p. 35.

<sup>+</sup> Cf. Horhotep, 1. 708-9.

<sup>‡</sup> Unas, l. 468-471.

<sup>§</sup> Teta, l. 219-223.

<sup>||</sup> Cf. Unas, l. 229 et 395.

<sup>¶</sup> Cf. Bonomi et Sharpe, The Alabaster sarcophagus of Oimenepthah I, pl. 8, B.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Merenra, l. 290-5, Pepi I, l. 183-4, et Pepi II, l. 896-7.

<sup>††</sup> Pepi I, l. 169.

qu'une autre formule l'appelle ciel d'or, et chambre du Taureau lumineux, (le gardien de la porte de la nuit,\*) ce serait l'agrandissement de la salle d'or des tombes, comme la Mesekt est l'agrandissement de l'enveloppe des morts.

Le mesek, d'abord simple linceul ou dais de cuir, était donc devenu la Mesekt ou l'enfer, c'est-à-dire la contrée de la peau du taureau typhonien où s'engloutissaient les dieux comme les mânes, et qui passait pour une gorge montagneuse, on, un chemin, on, d'une île, on, un endroit de supplice, on, un ciel, on, d'une manière plus générale, un lieu, on, et on, traverser cette peau ou cette région, c'était se purifier pour passer, par la mort, d'une vie ancienne à une vie nouvelle. Ainsi avait fait Osiris, et ainsi faisaient par procuration à Abydos les grands personnages, qui s'identifiaient de la sorte avec le dieu.

#### III.

Les différentes gloses déjà citées du chapitre 17, au Todtenbuch, nous apprennent peu de chose sur le rite assez obscur du Tehen; le commentaire suivant, qui remonte au moyen Empire, est un peu plus explicite: O ce Kheper qui est au milieu de sa barque, et dont l'Ennéade est le corps éternel, délivre-moi de ces bourreaux inquisiteurs à qui le Seigneur universel a donné la puissance, et qui font office de bourreaux contre ses ennemis, etc., lit-on au sarcophage de Horhotep, l. 552 et suivantes, parce que je suis celui qui a traversé, pur, la Mesekt, et à qui il a été donné le gâteau de Tehen dans Tanent. Explication: la Mesekt est le lieu du châtiment dans Héracléopolis, le Tehen est l'Œil châtiant le monstre-Hau, et Tanent est la salle d'Osiris:

<sup>\*</sup> Mariette, Dendérah, IV, pl. 84, a; cf. Naville, Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus, pl. 4; Champollion, Notices, II, p. 663; etc.

<sup>†</sup> Pepi I, l. 164, et Merenra, l. 327; *cf.* Unas, l. 560, Pepi I, l. 668, et Pepi II, l. 703, 857–8, et 983.

<sup>‡</sup> Aelteste Texte, pl. 19, l. 60.

D'après ce texte c'est le Hau, monstre ou reptile typhonien,\* variante du serpent (Rerek) et du taureau (Ka),† qu'on châtiait avec le Tehen. Quelque chose d'analogue avait lieu en Thébaïde, d'après les textes magiques des papyrus du Louvre et du temple d'El-Khargeh, conjurant le reptile ennemi dont la gueule a une écume de feu,‡ et qui vient pour s'emparer du disque de l'Amenranef qui réside à Karnak, l'Osiris thébain (papyrus No. 3237)§ Recule, tourne la tête en arrière, Set, mauvais compagnon, méchant reptile dont lo gueule a une écume de feu, n'approche pas des membres divins. C'est toi que désignent les quatre briques de Tehen qui sont dans le grand temple aux deux cités d'An (Héliopolis et Hermonthis). Brisées aujourd'hui, elles frapteront ta tête, elles casseront tes reins, elles détruiront ton âme

La brique de Tehen équivaut au gâteau de Tehen; elle était, en effet, mangée par le serpent, de même que des oies de calcaire et des pains d'argile (si ce sont des pains) en cônes ou en briques avec inscriptions nominatives,\*\* étaient censés servir de repas aux morts, parva petunt Mancs; dans la conjuration ou shen du reptile typhonien, Rerek, le dernier paragraphe débute par une interpellation ironique au monstre, à qui l'on faisait vomir ce qu'il avait mangé, d'après d'autres textes:†† vomissements du mur, expectorations de la brique!

l'écume sortie de ta gueule soit contre toi! Le feu est éteint, on ne trouve plus la flamme, etc.;;

- \* Cf. Amtuat, deuxième heure, grand texte.
- † Cf. Pleyte, Proceedings, Novembre, 1890, p. 14-16.
- ‡ Cf. Job, 41, 9-12.
- § Chassinat, Recueil de Travaux, xiv, p. 11.
- | Id., p. 14, Papyrus No. 3239.
- ¶ Id., p. 14, Texte d'El-Khargeh.
- \*\* Flinders Petrie, A Season in Egypt, p. 23.
- tt Todtenbuch, ch. 108, 1. 5.
- II Unas, l. 333-5; cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 125, l. 52.

Un chapitre du sarcophage de Horhotep, pour que la tête ne soit pas enlevée à la personne, représente aussi comme un aliment le Tehen, \* dont les gâteaux étaient probablement en forme de briques: O serpent-Rerek, rôdeur, (voici)† Shu et Apuatu. Je suis celui qui détruit, pour le Mangeur de Telen = I I I moment of the suis Horus, je viens de nouveau à la limite du ciel et de l'enfer, je passe par la demeure où sont cachés les quatre piliers du ciel. J'ai vu Celui qui repousse le Velu, www j , et violente les Génies au lieu qu'habitent les Castigateurs, . Je dis qui j'ai trouvé là, où je suis venu: Celui qui repousse le Velu et violente les Génies. Je suis le Grand, fils du Feu, celui à qui sa tête est rendue après sa décollation. Qu'on enlève à quelqu'un sa tête après sa décollation, on ne m'enlèvera pas ma tête. Je suis la baguette du Sort qui fait marcher par elle les barques des aînés,‡ la corde-serpent Nenudji \ de ceux qui sont dans l'horizon, cette nuit de chasser le rôdeur. Dans les conjurations de Rerek, on disait encore au serpent : le pain de ton père est pour toi, nouvelle allusion sans doute à la substance indigeste que détermine la marque des coupures, , au chapitre qui vient d'être traduit.

Un des serpents de l'autre monde, Ankahuef, analogue au typhonien Nehaher, et parfois comme lui gardien et juge, avait le titre de , Celui qui se nourrit de Tehen: \*\* il habitait le bassin de Mati, ou l'Amenti, ou Rosta, ou Auker, c'est-à-dire l'enfer, et il punissait le blasphème contre le dieu d'Abydos, Neter-nuti.††

Le *Tehen* est le cristal, d'après plusieurs égyptologues, et notamment M. Chabas, ‡‡ dont l'opinion se trouve confirmée par un texte

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Denkmaeler, IV, pl. 46, l. 13.

<sup>+</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, 33, 1. 1.

<sup>‡</sup> Cf. Horhotep, l. 330.

<sup>§</sup> Cf. Bonomi et Sharpe, The Alabaster sarcophagus of Oimenepthah I, pl. 6, c.

<sup>||</sup> Horhotep, l. 364-370.

<sup>¶</sup> Pleyte, Proceedings, Novembre, 1890, p. 24.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Dendérah, III, pl. 69, c; et Denkmaeler, IV, pl. 46, a, l. 13.

<sup>++</sup> Naville, Todtenbuch, II, ch. 125, pl. 309.

<sup>‡‡</sup> Antiquité historique, p. 31 à 36; cf. de Horrack, Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephth) s, p. 13.

des pyramides royales qui mentionne à côté du rite de la peau celui du verre: La grande Rosée (la libation\*) est au Taureau de Nekhen (Horus),† et la flamme du feu de ce Teta est pour vous, qui êtes derrière le sarcophage divin (d'Osiris).‡ O dieu grand, dont le nom est ignoré, il y a des offrandes à la place du Seigneur unique. O Seigneur de l'horizon, fais une place à ce Teta! Si tu ne fais pas une place à ce Teta, tu (en) feras une proie au sein du père Seb, la terre.§ Seb ne lui parlera pas, il ne le relèvera pas s'il trouve ce Teta sur son chemin, il le mangera,|| lui le dévorateur sacré du Lac? Que paraisse le Lumineux, que se lève le Grand, que parlent les dixhuit dieux de la terre, que vente le vent, que se réunissent les deux enfers, que se rejoignent les deux sanctuaires, que se voilent les passages en faveur des Passants, que s'anéantissent les montées en faveur des Sortants! Apport de la corde, traversée de la Mesekt, bris du verre à l'entrée du canal du Nil!

On voit que la traversée de la Mesekt et le bris du verre, , en copte & XHIMI,\*\* correspondent ici au passage de la Mesekt et à l'apport du Tehen mentionnés par le chapitre 17 du Todtenbuch; il suit de là que le Bedju n'est qu'une variante du Tehen, matière bien connue dès l'ancien Empire,†† comme le verre,‡‡ et employée pour la confection des amulettes, des sistres, des cachets, des vases, etc. Comme on distinguait le Tehen vrai, le faux ne pouvait être que le verre, dont les Arabes font aussi des amulettes, || || et la faïence.

<sup>\*</sup> Horhotep, l. 71; et Abydos, I, p. 60.

<sup>†</sup> Unas, l. 433-4. § Cf. Horhotep, l. 68.

<sup>‡</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 17, l. 39.

<sup>#</sup> Cf. Abydos, I, p. 38; et Unas, l. 515 et 555.

<sup>¶</sup> Teta, l. 237-9, et Unas, l. 416-9.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Maspero, Mélanges d'archéologie, X, p. 150, et Recueil de travaux, IV, p. 47; cf. Pleyte, Proceedings, Novembre, 1890, p. 25.

tt De Rougé, Mémoire sur les six premières dynasties, p. 69.

<sup>‡‡</sup> Schliemann, Tirynthe, édition française, p. 270.

<sup>§§</sup> Lepsius, Les métaux dans les inscriptions égyptiennes, traduction W. Berend, p. 38; Naville, Todtenbuch, I. pl. 182, l. 10, et Les quatre stèles orientées, pl. 15; Dendérah, IV, pl. 87; Denkmaeler, IV, pl. 46, l. 14 et 37; Brugsch, Supplément au Dictionnaire, p. 1349; etc.

III Casanova, Rulletin de l'Institut égyptien, 1891, p. 113-121.

Si le texte des pyramides royales dit qu'on brisait le verre, le chapitre 125 du *Todtenbuch* fournit un renseignement de même nature sur le cristal. Toutefois ce dernier texte contient une description du symbolisme qui paraît fortement mélangée d'éléments héliopolitains, les idées d'Héliopolis ayant pénétré dans le culte Osirien par Mendès, comme celles d'Héracléopolis par Abydos.

D'après le chapitre 125, quand le mort va se présenter devant ses juges, il interpelle les dieux qui sont dans la salle de la Justice, *Ma-ti*, ainsi que les bourreaux et les messagers qu'il redoute, puis, il déclare qu'il s'est purifié dans les lacs voisins d'Héliopolis, et les dieux lui font alors subir un interrogatoire en règle:

Faites-le venir, disent les dieux. Osiris un tel, qui es-tu? Quel est ton nom?-Je suis l'Osiris un tel. Celui qui prospère sous les papyrus, celui qui est dans son baumier,\* voilà mon nom.-Par où es-tu venu, lui disent-ils ?- Je suis venu par la ville qui est au Nord du baumier (arbre sacré d'Héliopolis). — Qu'as-tu vu là? — Le pied et la jambe (d'Osiris; un texte thébain a la main et la jambe, ce qui est plus conforme aux traditions.†)—Qu'as-tu vu (encore)?—Des réjouissances en ce pays des Dévoilés (ou des Phéniciens, d'après presque tous les textes thébains). - Que t'a-t-on donné? - Une flamme de feu avec un sceptre-uadj de cristal, Qu'en as-tu fait?—Je les ai enterrés; sur les rives du bassin de Ma-ti, (à Abydos et sur la route de l'enfer,§ mais quelques textes nomment ici le bassin héracléopolitain de Maa), dans les cérémonies nocturnes, consistant à piocher sous deux obélisques qui rappellent ceux des tables d'offrandes, près du bassin de Kheper). - Qu'as-tu trouvé sur ces rives du bassin de Ma-ti?-Un sceptre-uas en pierre (celui d'Anubis, ¶ dieu des morts et de la nuit, trouvé peut-être en piochant le champ d'Abydos, dans la visite à Anubis, rite figuré au tombeau de Rekhmara).\*\* Tu l'as ramassé? Parle! L'Osiris un tel l'a ramassé.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Pepi I, l. 180.

<sup>†</sup> Naville, Todtenbuch, I, ch. 102.

<sup>‡</sup> Cf. Naville Les quatre stèles orientées, pl. 13 et 15.

<sup>§</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 17, 1. 19.

<sup>||</sup> Cf. Unas, l. 512; et Pepi II, l. 690.

T Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 97, l. 1.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Pl. 22; cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 97, l. I.

Qu'est-il, ce sceptre de pierre?—Celui qui donne le souffle, voilà son nom—Qu'as-tu fait de ceci, la flamme de feu et le sceptre de cristal, après les avoir enterrés?—J'ai prié sur eux, je les ai retirés, j'ai éteint le feu,\* et j'ai brisé le sceptre en le jetant au bassin, \( \) \

A la dixième demeure infernale décrite par le chapitre 149 du Todtenbuch, il est parlé ausi du sceptre-uadj de cristal (protecteur de son maître, d'après une version de Dendérah), mais le passage est incorrect et obscur.

Au fond, le cristal brisé près d'un canal au chapitre 125 du *Todtenbuch*, ne paraît pas plus différer du verre brisé près d'un canal et près de la Mesekt, aux pyramides royales, que, dans le même texte des pyramides, la Mesekt et le verre ne diffèrent du cristal et de la Mesekt du chapitre 17. S'il en est ainsi, ces concordances permettront d'éclaircir la signification donnée à l'offrande du Tehen.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 22, fin.

<sup>†</sup> Rekhmara, pl. 22; cf. Erman, Papyrus Westcar, 1, Berichtigung, et pl. 4, l. 10.

<sup>‡</sup> L. 46-53, et édition Naville, II, pl. 323-6.

<sup>§</sup> Cf. Champollion, Notices, II, p. 651.

<sup>||</sup> Denkmaeler, III, pl. 79, b.

<sup>¶</sup> Dendérah, IV, pl. 83.

## IV.

Le Tehen était offert en gâteau près de la Mesekt, et son substitut, le verre, était cassé près de la Mesekt; de même la brique de Tehen, mangée, était aussi cassée; de même encore le sceptre de Tehen était enterré et cassé. C'est Typhon ou un des siens qui avalait le Tehen, et c'est sur sa tête qu'on le brisait, mais Typhon personnifiait la terre ou tout au moins la terre de la nécropole, de sorte qu'enterrer le Tehen c'était toujours le faire avaler à ce dieu. Il y a là une suite d'analogies montrant que les formes du gâteau, de la brique et du sceptre peuvent se ramener à une seule, celle, par exemple, de l'amulette rectangulaire en faïence marqué d'un sceptre uadi,\* et de même les rites relatifs à ces talismans ou khu se réduisent à un seul rite, dont le sens le plus visible rentre dans le symbolisme solaire. Ce sens fut admis dès une haute antiquité par les Egyptiens, qui voyaient dans le Tehen l'image du châtiment de Typhon par l'œil céleste,† ou du châtiment des deux parties du monde par le dieu de l'air et de la lumière, Shu. Si, en effet, le Tehen est proprement le cristal, les gloses du Todtenbuch montrent que le mot avait été pris aussi dans son acception dérivée.

Le cristal étant le corps brillant par excellence, le Tehen était la lumière: la flamme rougit, le scarabée surgit, la splendeur resplendit, (au moment de l'offrande), Sekhet était une face de Tehen dans la salle du feu, et on offrait le Tehen à la déesse Maut le 6 du mois, avec tous les rites d'allumer le feu. On comparait au Tehen le luisant des feuilles, le brillant de la peau, l'aurore, le clair de lune ou Thot-Tehen, etc. L'expression d'aten tehen ou disque resplendissant\*\* n'est pas rare, au moins sous le nouvel Empire. De plus, un des couples mâles et femelles représentant les Génies du Soleil était celui du Tehen,†† et l'astre lui-même était dit tehen aru ou forme de lumière.‡‡

<sup>\*</sup> Golénischeff, Ermitage imperial, p. 257; et Abydos, III, p. 566.

<sup>†</sup> Horhotep, 1. 559 et 560. ‡ Todtenbuch, ch. 17, l. 82.

<sup>§</sup> Teta, 1. 89, Merenra, 1. 240, et Pepi II, 1. 619.

<sup>|</sup> Dendérah, III, pl. 66. | ¶ Recueil, XIII, p. 164; cf. p. 166.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Zeitschrift, 1877, p. 87, et 1881, p. 119; Stèle C, 207 du Louvre; etc. †† J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, pl. 8 et 126; Champollion, *Notices*, i, p. 279; etc.

<sup>‡‡</sup> Papyrus No. 6 de Berlin, Denkmaeler, VI, pl. 117, l. 3.

Dans ce rôle solaire l'amulette de cristal, Tehen, mangé par Typhon ou enterré sous le sol avec une flamme, doit symboliser le soleil qui devient à son coucher la pâture de l'enfer. Mais l'enfer ne garde pas sa proie, c'est-à-dire le Tehen, l'Œil d'Horus ou la lumière. Un passage de l'Ap-ro dit que l'ail est délivré de la gueule du Taureau,

Serpent (nekau) à qui le Soleil fait rendre ce qu'il a mangé,

Todtenbuch, ch. 17, 1.83.

<sup>‡</sup> Unas, 1. 625.

<sup>||</sup> Cf. Pepi II, l. 705.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 105, 1. 3.

<sup>†</sup> Unas, 1. 563.

<sup>§</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 102, 159 et 160.

<sup>¶</sup> Dendérah, I, pl. 56, a.

<sup>††</sup> J. de Rougé, Géographie de la Basse Egypte, p. 130, et Textes géographiques d'Edfou, pl. 148; Dendérah, IV, pl. 75, l. 25.

II Schiaparelli, Il Libro dei Funerali, p. 83.

<sup>§§</sup> Denkmaeler, vi, pl. 115, l. 25.

du Soleil, Le chapitre 149 du Todtenbuch, l. 45, dit aussi, dans un sens probablement analogue, au sujet d'Urhekau dont on a vu le nom donné au sceptre uadj dans l'Amtuat : je suis cet œil d'Horus, Urhekau,† la pierre sortie de Set.

Le Tehen était donc déterré ou arraché à son ennemi, sur la tête duquel on le brisait comme un carreau de foudre, et on le brisait sans doute parce que le soleil couché semblait un soleil mort, de sorte que chaque matin le ciel enfantait non l'ancien astre, mais un astre nouveau, fils de lui-même: le feu naît du feu,

disent les formules traditionnelles, et hier est Osiris, le dieu défunt, demain est Ra, le soleil vivant,

Discontinue de lui-même si l'eau sainte du Nil, père des dieux, qui les cachait dans l'espace inconnu où tout se défait et se reforme.

Telle est la signification apparente que présente le rite du Tehen à l'époque historique, sans préjudice du symbolisme annuel qui a pu s'ajouter ici au symbolisme diurne, et qu'a signalé M. de Rougé || sans préjudice non plus d'une dernière allégorie dont l'existence est au moins probable : le mot Tehen, si souvent déterminé par le ciel orageux, désignait encore la foudre qui produit le verre des fulgurites et dont l'éclair brille comme le cristal ; il est en conséquence fort possible que le Tehen avec lequel Shu punissait le monde et l'impie, ou qui tombait en briques sur la tête de Typhon, ait été parfois quelque chose comme le tonnerre avec lequel Zeus châtiait les méchants. Certains déterminatifs du Tehen représentent le ciel orageux avec trois ou avec quatre \( \int \), et même, semble-t-il, avec trois pierres tombant, \( \int \) les pierres de foudre, peut-être les briques

<sup>\*</sup> Ramsès VII, Salle, Paroi gauche, et Ramsès IX, Troisième Salle, Paroi droite.

<sup>†</sup> Cf. Unas, l. 271, et Horhotep, l. 150.

I Todtenbuch, ch. 43, l. I.

<sup>§</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 17, l. 5 et 6.

<sup>||</sup> Etudes sur le Rituel funéraire, p. 71.

<sup>¶</sup> Unas, 1. 625.

écrites jetées sur la tête de Set, et analogues en un sens à ces pierres marquées au ciel pour être lancées contre les infidèles, d'après un passage du Koran.\*

Quoiqu'il en soit, la cérémonie du cristal n'a pu tirer son origine d'allégories aussi étendues. Le bris d'un verre ou d'un vase, par exemple, comme on le voit encore dans les mariages israélites, les toasts russes, et les coutumes cairotes,† a par lui-même un sens visiblement restreint, qui convient seul à l'époque où le rite du Tehen prit naissance. Accompli en effet pour Osiris dont les obsèques représentent celles de l'homme, ce rite était essentiellement funéraire, et les coutumes funéraires appartiennent, en Egypte comme ailleurs, à une couche d'idées très primitives.

Parmi ces idées, figure celle de la manducation des hommes par les dieux, \* sortes d'anthropophages ou de harpies qui causent la mort en ce monde par leur voracité. Ce n'est donc pas seulement l'œil du Soleil, ce sont encore les habitants de l'Egypte que Typhon cherchait à dévorer. Aussi trouve-t-on dans les livres égyptiens sur l'autre monde des renseignements comme celui-ci, qui est relatif à un serpent duquel émergent Tmu et l'œil sacré, c'est-àdire le soleil: l'image de Tmu sort de son dos, puis il ravale son image. Il vit des ombres des morts, son corps est fait de têtes, 0×-700 98.8 Un autre monstre, composé d'une chaîne de têtes, sorte de Nehebka, s'appelle Tepi, Celui des têtes; au tombeau de Séti I, les têtes sortent d'un serpent sous les coups de bâton qu'on applique à celui-ci, comme ailleurs à Set,¶ pour lui faire rendre ce qu'il a englouti.\*\*

Cette conception des morts dévorés par l'enfer ou la terre † en amène une autre. Puisque les dieux de l'autre monde ont faim, il faut leur donner à manger en passant pour n'être pas mangé soi-

<sup>\*</sup> Chapitre 105, 4.

<sup>†</sup> Lane, The Modern Egyptians, édition Poole, p. 252 et 256.

<sup>‡</sup> A. Réville, Les Religions des peuples non civilisés, t. I, p. 210, et t. II, p. 94, 97, et 128.

<sup>§</sup> Amtuat, onzième heure, premier registre; cf. Champollion, Notices, I, p. 790, et p. 767.

<sup>||</sup> Bonomi et Sharpe, The Alabaster Sarcophagus, pl. 12, A.

<sup>¶</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 108, l. 5.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Champollion, Notices, I, p. 770 et 775.

<sup>++</sup> Teta, l. 238; et Abydos, I, p. 38.

même. De là les gâteaux de Cerbère, et les gâteaux tenus par les visiteurs de l'antre de Trophonius. De là aussi, très vraisemblablement, le gâteau de Tehen, remis au mort égyptien pour Typhon.

Le gâteau aurait figuré par substitution la vie humaine (avant de symboliser la clarté solaire), et on l'aurait rompu, suivant la vieille coutume de casser les amulettes des tombes, pour punir le monstre infernal comme pour représenter l'existence brisée. Il est même admissible qu'une intention de supercherie, comme par exemple dans la remise à Kronos d'une pierre pour un enfant, ait motivé en partie le choix du Tehen. Tandis qu'on offrait de vrais gâteaux mesi aux fidèles d'Osiris,\* les personnages typhoniens recevaient de faux gâteaux mesi faits de verre, et plus faciles par conséquent à engloutir qu'à digérer. C'est ainsi qu'Horus-ichneumon déchirait les entrailles du crocodile.

<sup>\*</sup> Brugsch, Supplément au Dictionnaire, p. 700.

<sup>+</sup> Bonomi et Sharpe, The Alabaster Sarcothagus, pl. 14, A, et 7, B; cf. pl. 3, B.

<sup>‡</sup> Todtenbuch. ch. 146, l. 25.

<sup>§</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 129, l. 8 et 9.

<sup>||</sup> Naville, Todtenbuch, pl. 215, et Lepsius, Todtenbuch, ch. 97, 1. 4.

<sup>¶</sup> Unas, l. 286-8; Horhotep, l. 158-9; et Denkmaeler, II, pl. 145, b, 2.

comme ce fromage d'Io dont parle La Fontaine dans ses fables:\*

La lune à l'horizon montait, hostie énorme, a dit aussi V. Hugo.†

Ainsi le cristal eut le sort de la peau. Tous deux reçurent avec le temps une valeur plus relevée ou plus compréhensive, et comme tous deux concernent un même point du culte des morts, l'envoi de l'âme dans l'autre monde, il n'est pas étonnant qu'ils soient entrés et demeurés dans une relation étroite. Cette relation ressort de la formule des pyramides royales accolant les deux objets, ainsi que du chapitre 17 du *Todtenbuch*. Sur ce point la version que le sarcophage de Horhotep‡ donne du chapitre 17 est très instructive, puisqu'elle fait du Tehen le Castigateur,

Un lien pareil existait naturellement entre ces coutumes funéraires et la cité funéraire, Abydos. Bien que la conception du châtiment de la terre, origine du nom de ville Kenkentani, A. S., S. ait pu naître à Héracléopolis où le châtiment avait lieu, Abydos n'en resta pas moins la ville par excellence des rites de la peau et du cristal, créés ou non par elle et pratiqués ou non par d'autres. On la trouve donc appelée Tanent et Aa-mesek, par exemple sur une statue du Louvre (nouvel Empire), dans une prière du dédicateur, S. pur dans Tanent, et sur une stèle du Caire, dans une adoration à Osiris (époque saïte), S. \*\* Aa-mesek est en joie, et Tanent entre en allègresse.

<sup>\*</sup> XI, 6.

<sup>+</sup> V. Hugo, Les Contemplations, Livre vi, 20, Relligio.

<sup>‡</sup> L. 559–560.

<sup>§</sup> Papyrus Anastasi IV, p. 12, l. 6.

<sup>||</sup> Statue A 65 du Louvre

<sup>¶</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 1, 1. 9.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Mariette, Abydos, III, p. 481, No. 1276.

Voici maintenant l'idée générale que suggèrent les deux rites qui viennent d'être étudiés, et dont les développements ainsi que les rapports existaient sous l'ancien Empire, comme le montrent les pyramides royales:

Osiris étant la momie par excellence, ses funérailles furent l'image solennisée des obsèques humaines, de sorte que les gens de distinction participèrent aux avantages de cette cérémonie grandiose en la faisant célébrer pour leur compte à Abydos, dans le temple du dieu. L'office avait lieu la nuit, aux flambeaux, et l'une de ses parties essentielles consistait dans le passage de l'officiant sous une peau, puis dans le bris d'un morceau de cristal. La peau, souvenir des anciens linceuls en cuir, avait fini par symboliser le pays des morts qu'il fallait traverser en se purifiant pour renaître, de même que le cristal, sorte d'offrande fallacieuse aux mauvais esprits, était devenu la lumière disparue, et peut-être aussi la foudre dont le ciel frappait Typhon. L'ensemble de ces vigilie mortuorum n'est pas sans ressemblance extérieure avec les messes commémoratives, célébrées devant un catafalque, ou avec les prises de voile dans lesquelles la novice, comme une défunte, est couchée sous un drap mortuaire qui la sépare à jamais du monde.



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# EUPHRATEAN STELLAR RESEARCHES.

By Robert Brown, June., F.S.A.

Part III. The Tablet K, 2894.—Reverse; etc.

This Tablet, a copy of which is given in the *Proceedings*, March, 1888, reads as follows:—

- 1.... 到 4-11 = 11-- 三 ~ 日 4-11... ... nam]-ru. Ru $\chi$  a $\chi$ arri. Enu-va ru $\chi$  ... (it is) bright.] A west wind. When a-wind ...
- f. K. 2310, Ob. l. 10 (Proceedings, April, 1892, p. 283).
  - ... Kakkabi sa zumba ... ... the-stars which a-tail ...

The constellation last mentioned on the Obverse of the Tablet, and about which the scribe is still speaking, is Capricorn (vide Proceedings, May, 1893, p. 328); and its tail-forming stars are thus described in Ptolemy's List:—

- 7. "The foremost of the 2 beside the tail."
- ê. "The hindmost of them" (Deneb Algedi).
- 42. "The foremost of the 4 at the northern part of the tail."
  - μ. "The southern-one of the 3 remaining."
- λ. "The centre-one of them."

. . . the-star

- 46. "The northern-one of them and the one at the end of the tail."
- ... Kakkab Ni-bat-a-nu ina libbi ... Mars in the-midst . . .
- - ... Kakkabi zumbi innamaru... ... the-stars of-the-tails are-seen ...
    - 456

I.e., the tails of Capricorn and Piscis Australis (vide Proceedings, January, 1890, p. 144).

So, when "Mars to the Star of the Fish [=Fomalhaut. Vide Proceedings, January, 1890, p. 147] is opposite, the presence of many fish in the land is reported." (W.A.I. III, lvii, 2, l. 3).

6. ... -+ EII -- EII -- FII -- FIII --

kakkabi A - nu[-ni-tum . . . of-the-constellation of-Anu[-nit . . .

I.e., the Bow-stars of Sagittarius (vide Proceedings, February, 1890, p. 203; April, 1892, p. 298).

ana kakkab A[-nu-ni-tum . . . to the-constellation of-A[-nu-nit . . .

8. .... Kakkab Nam]-maχ i - zaz ...
... the-star of-Destiny]-mighty is-fixed ...

In W.A.I. III, lxiv, Rev. l. 2, we read:—Tarbatsa kakkab Nammax  $\hat{u}$  kakkab A-nu-ni-... "A setting the star of Mighty-destiny and the constellation of Anunit"... These two are therefore usually classed together, as in l. 7, and "the star of Mighty-destiny" will be Sa'd el su'ûd (Sadalsund, "Fortuna fortunarum"),  $\beta$  Aquarii, a lucky star; the Arabic name seems to be a translation, or, at all events, an echo of the original Akkadian appellation. Aquarius in astrology "is deemed a fortunate sign," and its stars, as we have seen (Proceedings, January, 1890, pp. 139-43), are connected with one

beginning of the year and calendar. Similarly, a Aquarii is Sadalmelix ("Faustum sidus regis"), "the Auspicious Star of the King," being evidently dedicated to the god An-sar (= Assur), of whom Uras-Ramânu (vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 302), the presiding divinity of Sabatu, the month of Aquarius, is a phase.

ti - du - u ...

ye-know ...

ve-know ...

... nunu imat; kakkabu rabu sa - ru - ru ...

... the-prince dies; the-star great brightness ...

A kakkab rabu, perhaps a comet, is mentioned in IV.A.I. III, lii, No. 1, l. 9.

13. At present this line appears to be untranslatable.

14. | EV-Y . . . . I SI SI EI (I-V I-Y I-Y Kakkab . . . samsi-atsi izzaz-va dunku. D.P. The-star . . . at-sunrise is-fixed, and (is) propitious.

samsi-eribi izzaz-va ...

At-sunset it-is-fixed, and ...

The-star Mars

| STENDED | STENDED

小型 口 目…

dunku ippaχχir-va ...

(is) propitious; it-sets and ...

Yudannat (vide Proceedings, May, 1893 p. 320).

16. \( \vec{\psi} \rightarrow \rightarrow \left( \vec{\psi} \right) \l

以 区 %-...

bi - ib - bu ...

the Planet ...

Lit. "seven days," etc. *Bibbu* is the rendering suggested to me by Mr. Pinches. It seemed tempting to read *I-li suatu ip-pu*, "To God that (day) is holy," and to compare the "Saints' Calendar" translated by Professor Sayce,\* *e.g.*,

"The 19th day (is) the white day of Gula. A lucky day. A Sabbath."

On this passage he remarks:—" Ippû, like its synomym ellu (Heb. hâlal), has the secondary meaning of 'holy.' Cf. the Lat. dies candidus."

17. W A CE W A C

Y¥ ≥ YY > ₩ ...

a - dan - nu sa . . .

a-season of . . .

Irbaya kas - bu siχχi - rat samsi; sus kas - bu

Forty degrees = the-circuit of-the-sun; sixty degrees =

1 -11-...

 $\sin \chi \chi i$  - rat . . . . . . . . . . . .

<sup>\*</sup> Rel. Ancient Babs., p. 70 et seg.

Sixxirat. From saxaru, "to surround." Heb. TD.

This passage, perhaps a gloss, contains a difficult and important statement, the explanation of which is, I think, as follows:—The kasbu (As. asli) = 60° (vide Proceedings, May, 1893, p. 340), and "sixty was the unexpressed denominator of a fraction.\* Hence, the meaning of the passage appears to be that  $\frac{40}{60}$  (=\frac{2}{3}) of  $60^{\circ}$ ,= $40^{\circ}$ = "the circuit of the sun." This "circuit of the sun" can hardly refer to anything other than the sum of the degrees of its greatest declination from the celestial equator during its annual revolution, i.e., 23\frac{1}{2}\circ\text{ N. and S. at the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn respectively, =47°, not 40°, as estimated by the scribe. And this view is strengthened by the latter part of the line, which doubtless read,— " $60^{\circ}$  = the circuit of the moon." That is,  $\frac{60}{60}$  = 1 (kasbu) =  $60^{\circ}$ . Now the actual sum of the moon's greatest declinations is  $(23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} + 5^{\circ})$  +  $(23\frac{1}{2} + 5^{\circ}) = 57^{\circ}$ , which is very near the round number of 60° given by the scribe. He evidently gives 20° as a round number for the solar tropic, and 30° as a round number for the lunar tropic, instead of  $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and  $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  respectively. From these statements it follows, also, that the scribe was perfectly well acquainted with the obliquity of the ecliptic; an astronomical fact the discovery of which, on the Greek side, has been attributed to Pythagoras,† or to his follower Oinopidês of Chios, cir. B.C. 480. Such statements by classical writers mean no more than that such and such a Greek was the introducer, not the inventor or discoverer, of this or that item of astronomical knowledge. Thus, according to Eudoxos of Rhodes, ‡ Oinopidês "first discovered the cincture of the Zodiac"  $(\epsilon \hat{v}_{\rho} \epsilon$ πρώτος την του ζωδιακου διάζοσιν); in which, according to Pliny, §

<sup>\*</sup> Sayce, Herodotos, 403.

<sup>† &</sup>quot;Pythagoras was a Samian; according to Aristoxenos, in his life of Pythagoras, he was a Tyrrhenian; and, according to Neanthês, a Syrian or a Tyrian. So that Pythagoras was, according to most authorities, of barbarian extraction." (Clem. Alex., Stromata I, xiv, 62). "He had intercourse with the chief men both of the Chaldaeans and of the Magi." (Ibid., xv, 66.) "Alexander [Polyhistôr] in his book On the Pythagorean Symbols, relates that Pythagoras was a pupil of Nazaratos the Assyrian." (Ibid., 70.) "The name of his teacher is correct enough. This is also the case with the Chaldaeans, Kidenas, Naburianus, and Sudinas, who, according to Strabo (XVI, i, 6), were held by the Greeks to have been eminent in science." (Sayce, in Transactions, iii, 149.)

<sup>‡</sup> Astrologikê Historia (ap. Theôn, Smyrn., xl).

<sup>8</sup> H . Nat., ii, 6.

Kleostratos, who "lived sometime between B.C. 548 and 432," placed the Signs, "et prima Arietis ac Sagittarii." The underlying historical fact is simply that archaic Euphratean lore penetrating across Asia Minor, fell into fruitful soil in meeting with the quick intelligence of sages, partly or wholly Greek, connected with the eastern seaboard of the Aegaean, and some of whom had also doubtless travelled in the East.

word may be gir-rat, "meaning 'progress,' 'advance,' from garāru, 'to advance.'" Such a rendering would be in accordance with the explanation above given; and would refer to the extreme N. and S. "progress" or "advance" of sun and moon.

Kakkabi sam - e úl ibassu; matu-va

The-stars of-heaven not are; the-land also

e - ma aryi ...

(then) around for-a-month . . .

*I.e.*, the heliacal rising of stars. Cf. *IV.A.I.* III, liii, No. 1, l. 36. where a similar observation is recorded.

## II.

Mr. Pinches has kindly supplied me with a copy of a small fragment of a tablet, British Museum 33-1-18, 205, which reads:—

Kakkab Enzu mes-χa im - saχ ...

The-star the-Goat α-measure measured (= rose. Vide Proceedings, May, 1893, p. 317).

I gather from the copy that the Inscription is partly bilingual, the reading Kakkab Enzu being given as A (FIX FIII) W, Ak. MU-UL U-ZA, "the star Uz," i.e., Algedi (a Capricorni. Vide Proceedings, May, 1893, p. 341).

- Ilani ana mati ippasaru ...

  The-gods to the-land are-revealed ...
- Ana matı remu ...

  To the-land grace ...

is explained as - | | ri-e-mu.

This fragment supplies an excellent opportunity of illustrating the origin and original meaning of a stellar figure. Why should the gods be specially revealed when the star Enzu rises? In W.A.I. II, xlviii, 34, the archaic Babylonian form, which later appears as U-TU-КІ, "Sun-of-the-Earth," and is stated to be equivalent to D.P. Sy, Samsu, "the Sun." That is to say, the Goat (-sun) = "the-Sun-of-the-Earth," i.e., the Morning-sun, coming up from the Underworld, or from the sea.† Now the solar goat-god Uz "is depicted as sitting on a throne, watching the revolution of the solar disk, which is placed upon a table and slowly turned by means of a rope," and he "is clad in a rope of goats' skins, the sacred dress of the Babylonian priests,‡ whilst "Sin, Samas, and Istar" are "set as companions" in his sight. That is to say, it is the solar goat-god Uz who presides over "the revolution of the solar disk," which process brings into sight the moon, the sun itself, and the morningand-evening star. Hence, to the star Enzu, which, moreover, is "the top of the head of the constellation of the Goat-fish," s is attributed by reduplication the power originally possessed by the Goat-sun, i.e., that of (physically) revealing the gods; but to the

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Sayce, Rel. Ancient Babs., 284, n. 3.

<sup>†</sup> Hence the figure of the Sca-goat (vide Proceedings, January, 1890, p. 145; April, 1892, p. 301).

<sup>‡</sup> Sayce, Rel. Ancient Babs., 285; vide the Illustration in W.A.I., V, 1x.

<sup>§</sup> W.A.I., III, lvii, No. 7, Sec. IV, 1. 8. The solar *Enzu* thus exactly corresponds to Kephalos, "the Head" (of the sun), in Greek mythology.

mind of the writer of the Tablet the simple physical fact originally referred to, has been lost in an ordinary spiritual application.

# III.

The 'Cynosure.' The name Kuvoooupa as applied to the Lesser Bear by Aratos has never yet been satisfactorily explained. When writing on Euphratean names of the Greater Bear,\* I quoted the testimony of Achilleus Tatios, † which is in perfect harmony with the monuments, that these two Bears were not Euphratean constellation-figures. If Kynosoura, as is commonly supposed, means 'Dog's-tail,' then it is incomprehensible why all the 7 (principal) stars of the constellation, and not merely the 3 tail-stars, should be so called. 'Dog's-tail, like 'Cock's-foot,' might be the popular name of a constellation, but in this case there is no resemblance in form; and popular names, being the result of simple occular observation, are always based on a resemblance which is fairly obvious. So far, then, we should be led to conclude that Kynosoura does not mean 'Dog's-tail,' which interpretation would seem to be a mere popular etymology. And such is the fact; for Sir G. W. Cox, speaking of λυκόσουρα, "which the Arkadians insisted was the most ancient of all cities, and the first which Helios had ever beheld," observes, "The Kynosoura has the same meaning, the association of the word with a dog being the result purely of a false etymology." § Hence, in my version of Aratos, I have rendered Kynosoura by "Trail-oflight." But, whilst I fully agree with Burnouf and Sir G. W. Cox respecting the meaning of the Greek word κυνόσουρα, I am not satisfied that such was the signification of the name given to the Lesser Bear, or that the name preserved by Aratos is Hellenic in origin; inasmuch as such names as "Trail-of-light" or "Tail-of light" have no special suitability, and, indeed, are, on the whole distinctly unsuitable to the constellation. And I would suggest that the constellation-name Kynosoura, like many other names once supposed to be purely Hellenic, is non-Hellenic, and possibly Euphratean in origin. In IV.A.I., III, liii, No. 1, Ob. l. 12, we

<sup>\*</sup> Proceedings, March, 1887, p. 127 et seq.

<sup>†</sup> Eisagôgê, xxxix.

<sup>‡</sup> Vide Proceedings, May, 1893, p. 329 n. 4.

<sup>§</sup> Introduction to Mythology and Folklore, p. 40. He quotes Emile Burnouf, La Légende Athénienne, p. 111, where the matter is fully investigated.

Ak. 
$$\begin{cases} AN - NAS-SUR-RA \\ ANN-ASS-U-RRA \end{cases}$$
Gk. 
$$\kappa - vv - \dot{\rho} \sigma - ov - \rho a$$

The prefixing of a consonant not in the original, is by no means unknown in Greek transcriptions. Thus, we read in Hêsychios  $\Delta ia\lambda$  (i.e., the Semitic  $Y\hat{a}\hat{e}l$ ).  $\tau\hat{\eta}\nu$   $\hat{\epsilon}\lambda a\phi o\nu$ .  $Xa\lambda\hat{\epsilon}a\hat{i}o\iota$ .\* A non-Hellenic name rendered as Unosoura, might easily become Kunosoura under the influence of a popular etymology, aided by the appearance of the tail-stars of the constellation. And in exact accordance with the foregoing view is the following somewhat curious passage in the Phainomena, 308-9:—

Τημος καὶ κεφαλη Κυνοσουρίζος ἀκρόθι νοκτός ύψι μάλα τροχάει.

"Then, too, the head of Kynosure runs very high, When night begins."

### IV.

All who are interested in Assyriology will be glad to hear that Professor Hommel has commenced a series of articles in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, on "Babylonian Astronomy." These Papers are to contain an abstract of his work, *Die Astronomie der alten Chaldäer*, and the first is devoted to "the Planets." Although it may seem somewhat strange, there is still considerable difference of opinion amongst Assyriologists respecting the transliteration, identification, and significance of various planetary names found in the Inscriptions; a few remarks, therefore, on the subject may not be inopportune.†

<sup>\*</sup> So, again, Antipatros of Tarsos calls 'Ati Tirig.

<sup>†</sup> Vide R. Brown, Jr., Remarks on some Euphratean Astronomical Names in the Lexikon of Hésychios (in the Babylonian and Oriental Record, July-August, 1887).

1. The Lexikon of Hêsychios, cir. A.D. 370, supplies us with the following forms of Euphratean words more or less connected with astronomy and kindred matters:—

"Aĉa ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων ἡ "Ηρα. 'Ati (in Atar-atah, Atar-'ati, = Atar-Antipatros of Tarsos, ap. Athênaios, viii, 8), Adas deis (Philôn Byb. ap. Stephanos Byzant. in voc. Λαοδίκεια). In Phrygia the goddess was called Atê; Ilion was founded έπὶ τον λεγόμενον της Φρυγίας 'Ατης λόφον (Apollod., III, xii, 3), and hence called 'Ατης λόφος' ούτως τὸ 'Ίλιον ἐκαλεῖτο πρώτον (Hêsych. in τος.). This goddess, and not the Greek Athênê, was the πότνι' 'Αθηναίη, ρυσίπτολι (Il., vi, 305), whose temple at Troy was accordingly εν πόλιάκρη (Ibid., 297). This great goddess of Western Asia, who was regarded as the analogue of Hêra, had at Ephesos a priestess called in Greek Κοσμήτρια (= Κοσμήτειρα, 'Orderer'); whilst it appears that a non-Hellenic name for her was  $\sum a\rho a\chi \dot{\eta}\rho\omega$  (vide inf. in voc.; and, as this name is given by Bêrôsos, it is evidently Euphratean. We may therefore conclude that  $\sum a\rho a\chi \dot{\eta}\rho \omega = K_0 \sigma \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \rho \iota a$ , and is connected with the Heb. "" to arrange in order." Σόραιχος appears as a Babylonian name in Iamblichos (vide Chwolsohn, Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus, 1856, ii, 281).

'Αδαει' μὴν παρὰ Χαλδαίοις. Sem. Adar.

'Aιδής, 'Aιδώς' 'η σελήνη, παρὰ Χαλδαίοις. Ak. Idu, Itu. On this very interesting moon-name and its connexions, vide Lenormant, Étude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes, 282; R. Brown, Jr., The Myth of Kirké, p. 33; Ibid., in Academy, March, 10, 1888, pp. 173-4.

Βελέβατος ὁ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀστήρ. Βαβολώντοι. Ak. \*Bilbat ("Fire-of-death"). I have not yet met with the originals of Βελέβατος and Μολοβόβαρ in the Inscriptions. The "Fire-of-death," or the "Ancient-fire," would be a very suitable rendering for the former term; and it is unwise to try and force these classical forms to fit in with widely-different names found in the text. With \*Bilbat and Dilbat compare Xadis and Madis (Proceedings, May, 1893, p. 339).

 $B''_{\eta}\lambda\theta\eta s^*$   $\dot{\eta}$  'Hρα.  $\ddot{\eta}$  'Aφροδίτη. Sem. Bilat, Gk. Baa\τίς  $B''_{\eta}\lambda\theta\iota s$ . Balth'l was the Aphrodité of the men of Harrân (vide Chwolsohn, Die Ssabier, ii, 22).

Βηλος δυρανός, καὶ Ζεὺς, Ποσειδῶνος ὑιος. Sem. Bilu, LXX Βηλ. A confused and incorrect account, in which Bel of Nipur, the Ak. Mul-lilla, is confounded with the late Babylonian Bel Meròda $\chi$ , the

son of £a ("Water-house"), who is here rightly equated with Posêidôn, lord of the deep.

Δελέφατ' ὁ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης ἀστήρ, ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων. Ακ. Dilbat.

Κόμβη Κονρήτων μήτηρ. Cf. the Storm-god *Khumbaba*, Gk. Κομβάβος (*Peri tės Suriės Theou*, xix), whose name, according to Mr. Boscawen (*Modern Thought*, Sept., 1882, p. 327), means "Maker-of-darkness"; probably originally identical with the Elamite divinity *Khumba* (= Κόμβη), or *Khumbu-me*.

Μινδαλόεσσας ἀριθμά. καὶ τὰ περὶ ὀυράνια σύνταξις. Βαβυλώνιοι. This term is evidently compounded of words connected with the Heb. middoh, 'measure,' and osar, "to bind," issor, 'bond,' As. usuru, 'bound.'

Μολοβόβαρ' ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἀστήρ, παρὰ Χαλδαίοις. Ak. \*Mulbabar ("Star-of-sunrise"). Cf. W.A.I. III, lii, No. 1, l. 1: Kakkab izariχ-va tsi-ri-ir-su kima urru na-mir, "The-star (Jupiter) rises, and its-rising like the-day is bright." (Vide also Proceedings, May, 1893, p. 337.)

'Paμάs' ὁ ὑψιστος Θέος. As. Ramânu, Syrian Raman, LXX 'Ρεμμάν.

Σαλαμβώ ἡ 'Αφροδίτη παρὰ Βαβυλωνίοιs. The Etymologikon Mega gives Σαλάμβαs... ἡ δαίμων. Even Sanskrit has been invoked to assist in the explanation of this name (Vide Movers, Die Phönizier, i. 545), which I take to represent the As. tsalamu (tsa-lam-mu), 'mage,' 'symbol,' itself the daughter of the Ak. alam, "which probably has the same root as alad, 'a colossus,' alal or ala, 'a demon' [vide the explanation of the Etymol. Mega], alala, 'the Sungod,' and alim, 'a steer,' literally 'the strong animal.' The word also seems to have been read 'Sulim' (Sayce, Rel. Ancient Babs., p. 196, n. 2). "Alad is 'the spirit,' from ala, with the suffix d (a)." (Ibid., p. 290, n. ). Allam (= Alam) is a title of Nergal (Ibid., p. 196), and ala, alad, alam, 'spirit' (δαίμων), would be a name applicable to any divinity, and one which apparently became specially connected with some of the gods, such as the Sun-god, Nergal, and Istar (= Aphroditê).

Σαραχήρω παρὰ Βηρώσῷ, ἡ κοαμήτρια τῆς "Ηρας. Vide sup. in voc." Αὲα.

Σαρός άριθμός τὶς παρά Βαβυλωνίοις. Bab. sar.

Σαίη· ὁ κόσμος Βαβυλώνιος. Bab. sawe, same, "the heavens."

 $\Sigma a\dot{\omega}$ ς· "ηλιος. Βαβυλώνιοι. Bab. sawas, samas.

Σεχές. τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστήρ. Βαβυλώνιοι. Ak. Sakvisa (Mercury).

Σιόαν ούτω καλουσι Χαλεαίοι τον Πάνημον μήνα. Sem. Sivan.

The terms 'Babylonians' and 'Chaldaeans' appear to be used indifferently. There are also certain words in the *Lexikon* which, although not expressly attributed to the Euphrates Valley, are probably or possibly connected with it, *e.g.*:—

'Αγάννα' ἄμαξα... καὶ ἡ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄρκτος (vide R. Brown Jr., in *Proceedings*, May, 1887, p. 127 et seq.).

Κυνόσουρα·... ή μικρά ἄρκτος (Vide sup. p. 456).

Σάτιλλα'  $\pi[\eta]$ λειὰς τὸ ἄστρον. Satilla is thus said to be a name for the constellation (άστρον) of the Pleiades ('Clusterers.' Vide R. Brown, Jr., The Heavenly Display, p. 9). I have quoted the remark of Delitzsch, that the Heb. Kimah (= the Pleiades) = the As. Kimtu, 'family,' from the stem kamû, "to tie" (vide Proceedings, February, 1890, p. 185). Satilla = (in Ak.) "the bond of life," and therefore Kimah ("the Bound-ones," = family) would be a rendering of the Akkadian name of this closely united and very important little stellar group of season-makers.

'Ωρίων' ἄστρον οὕτω καλούμενον (vide *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 323).

2. During the Arsakidan period the astronomical (technical) names of the five planets, according to Epping and Strassmaier,\* were:—

= 1, Gut-tu, = Mercury.  $\longrightarrow$ , Dilbat ( $= \Delta \epsilon \lambda \epsilon' \phi \omega \tau$ ), = Venus.  $\longrightarrow$ , Anu, = Mars.  $\cong$  1, Te-ut, = Jupiter.  $\cong$  1, Mullalu, = Saturn.

According to Prof. Hommel we should read:—Gud-bir (Mercury), An (Mars), Mul-bir (Jupiter), and Gin (Saturn), ΣΕ, ginna, being, I presume, a variant of Ε. Mul-bir, he thinks, = Μολοβοβαρ.

<sup>\*</sup> Astronomisches aus Babylon.

As the solar Merôda $\chi$  was known in archaic Akkadian astronomy as Gudibir ( $\chi$   $\chi$ ), "the-Bull-of-light," and as bir, pir, is a phonetic value of  $\chi$ , we need not doubt that "Jupiter, the nearest of the planets to the ecliptic, was known as Lubat-gudibir, 'the wether of the Bull-of-light.' And, further, according to Prof. Hommel, there was in course of time an exchange of names between Jupiter and Mercury, and between Mars and Saturn; so that Gud-bir (Gudibir), once an appellation of Jupiter, became transferred to Mercury.

As regards the name  $\begin{align*}{c} \begin{align*}{l} \begin{a$ 

3. Prof. Hommel gives the earlier names of the five planets as :-

IEY (Y-, Lu-lim, = Mars.

EYA AY, Gud-bir, = Jupiter.

THY , Zal-bad-a-nu, = Saturn.

He appears to refer to the list in W.A.I., II, xlviii, Ob., lines 48-54; see also *Ibid.*, III, lxii, No. 6, lines 65-7, translated by me in the *Proceedings*, March, 1891, pps. 247-8; and he observes, "Quite false is the explanation of Jensen: † Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mars, Mercury; especially the equations  $\mathbf{E}^{\mathsf{Y}} = \mathbf{A}^{\mathsf{Y}} = \mathbf{M}$  and  $\mathbf{Zal-bad-A-nu} = \mathbf{M}$  ercury." Jensen, however, is admittedly correct in the case of *Venus*; and, as I believe, also in that of *Saturn*.

As to the forms: (YEYYYY is perhaps better read dun ('hero') than sul, which latter, however, is the reading of Oppert and Sayce. Jensen, whilst admitting that sul may be read, prefers to read umun.

<sup>\*</sup> Sayce, Rel. Ancient Babs., p. 291.

<sup>+</sup> Vide Proceedings, March, 1891, p. 250.

<sup>‡</sup> Kosmologie, pps. 100-141.

may also be read zal, and  $\prec$ , bad (vide Proceedings, April, 1892, p. 284). But why should we prefer the less usual reading zal, to the more usual reading ni? which latter rendering, moreover, has the great authority of both Prof. Sayce and Mr. Pinches, who read the name Ni-bat-a-nu, a form I have always employed. Apparently we are to read Zal-bad in order to bring the name into harmony with  $Be\lambda \acute{e}\beta a\tau os$ , which is itself to be corrected into 'Zelebatos.' Of course a Greek form  $Ze\lambda$ - $\acute{e}$ - $\beta a\tau$ -os would supply an excellent foundation for the reading Zalbad. But, unfortunately, there is no such Greek form known to us, the proposed correction being purely arbitrary.

Lu-lim, in this list, is explained as \(\frac{1}{2}\) \(\frac{1}{2}\) \(\frac{1}{2}\), \(Sak-us\), a name which Prof. Hommel does not mention in his enumeration, merely giving the As. \(Kaiwanu\), Heb. \(Kiyynn\) (Chiun, Amos, v. 26), Arabic \(Keyvan\), which, as he admits, was at one time a name of \(Saturn\). But \(Sakus\) signifies "top-of-the-head," 'eldest,' terms perfectly suitable to \(Saturn\)\*, but certainly inapplicable to \(Mars\).

In each of the above lists of the seven planets the two first are Aku (Sin) and Utu (Samas), Sun and Moon; and Prof. Hommel's theory with respect to Sakus and Zalbad (Nibad) is based apparently on the following consideration:—"If the moon precedes the sun [in the lists,—which it does], and Nos. 3 and 4 are Mercury and Venus, and No. 6 Jupiter, we have here [if Sakus = Mars and Zalbad = Saturn the old order of the planets according to their distance from the earth." But this is just what we have not, even on the above suppositions; for, in this case, as Prof. Hommel himself notes, the order ought to be that observed in the Temple of the Seven Spheres (Planets) at Borsippa, whose seven stages from the basis were respectively—Black for Saturn, Orange for Jupiter, Red for Mars, Golden for the Sun, pale Yellow for Venus, Blue for Mercury, and Silver for the Moon. † Now "the Babylonians . . . had a week of seven days called after the seven planets," ! "the days of the week being dedicated to the moon, sun, and five planets"; \$ not an order "according to their distance from the earth," but in accordance with the representations on the Boundary-stones, where

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Proceedings, March, 1891, p. 248.

<sup>+</sup> Vide Canon Rawlinson, Ancient Monarchies, ii, 546-7.

<sup>‡</sup> Sayce, Herodotos, p. 62.

<sup>§</sup> Ibid., p. 402.

the Moon and Sun are placed together in the centre in a position of dignity and priority, not with reference to their localization in space. I see no reason, therefore, to differ from the dictum of Prof. Sayce, "The order in which the planets is arranged is always the same: the Moon, the Sun, Mercury, Venus, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars;" \* and we may regard the Akkadian planetary names as Aku, Utu,  ${Sul \choose Dun}$ -pa-ud-du, Dilbat, Sakus, Gut- ${tav \choose bir}$  and Nibatanu.†

- \* Transactions, iii, 167. Cf. Platôn, Timaios, ap. Jowett, Dialogues of Plato, iii, 620: "There were 7 orbits, as the stars were 7; first, there was the moon which is the planet nearest the earth, and then the sun next nearest beyond the earth."
- † Apropos of the name Nu-mia ("the Star which-is-not") as applied to Nibatanu (Mars), it is interesting to find that amongst the Sabaeans, Mars was considered to be "the god of the Blind." (Thos. Stanley, Hist. of the Chaldaick Philosophy, 1662, p. 87. He gives an interesting description of the Sabaean cult "from a MS. of Mahumed ben Isaac, cited by Hottinger." Cf. Chwolsohn, Die Ssabier, ii, 24, etc.).



# NOTES DE PHILOLOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

(Suite.)\*

88. Le groupe \( \) \( \) et la racine \( \), \( \); 89. Doublets d'un même mot, avec et sans \( \) médial ou final; 90. L'équivalent du copte CKEN latus; 91. Passage du chapitre XV du Livre des Morts; 92. Quelques remarques sur la lecture du signe \( \), à propos d'une critique récente; 93. Le nom égyptien de la Lionne; 94. Passage du Papyrus Abbot.

Vers les derniers temps, j'ai eu de quoi changer d'avis concernant cette matière. D'ailleurs, la lecture l = men était bien hazardé, car de ce que l = men équivaut à men, il ne s'en suit nullement que cette même lecture doive être conférée au signe l = men qui—il est vrai—ressemble beaucoup à l = men signe que ce dernier.

Ce qui, d'ailleurs, me porte maintenant à examiner la lecture du groupe \( \) \( \), c'est un point d'un mémoire qui vient de paraître, mémoire dont l'auteur est M. Erman.\( \) Celui-ci, qui ne paraît avoir connu ni mon article, ni celui de M. Brugsch, considère \( \) \

<sup>\*</sup> Voir Proceedings, XV, page 268.

<sup>†</sup> Zeitschrift, 1883, page 135.

<sup>#</sup> Zeitschrift, 1876, page 100. BRUGSCH diffère de moi en ce qu'il a lu notre groupe ] } , forme qui rend plus vraisemblable une transcription men-su.

<sup>§</sup> Zeitschrift, XXX, page 81.

Comme mes annotations fournissent un très grand nombre d'exemples du groupe en question, et qu'il est très utile d'en avoir en quantité pour bien juger de la question, je me permets de les donner ici:—

# a. III "Le favori du bon dieu, compagnon du roi dès la première enfance, où il fut favori, celui qui . . . . . . dès la jeunesse, celui qui a été placé à la tête des amis du roi, comme chef de ses compagnons."\*

b. Le sunérieur des compagnons de sa Sainteté, celui qui . . . . . dès sa jeunesse *Paser*, juste de voix."†

c. \ \_\_\_\_\_ ~ Celui qui a agrandi auprès du roi, celui qui ...... dès l'enfance.";

f. I Grand Gebataille, compagnon du Pharaon."

- \* PIEHL, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques. Première Série, Pl. CXIII, lignes 6, 7.
- + PIEHI., loc. cit., Pl. CXVI, lignes 4-5. Cfr. aussi Lefébure, dans les Proceedings, XIII, page 467.
  - ‡ Voir mon article des Proceedings, X, page 531.
  - § PIEHL, dans la Zeitschrift, 1885, page 61.
  - || DE Rougé, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, XXIV, 7.
  - ¶ SHARPE, Egyptian Inscriptions, I, 93.
- \*\* Texte historique d'Amenemheb de Scheikh-abd-el-Gourna, ligne 2. Voir Piehl, dans la Zeitschrift, 1885, page 61.

h. The little deux terres, celui qui . . . . dans 'le nid' celui dont la vaillance protège l'Égypte."\*

"Seigneur de largesses, qui arrange la succession des deux terres, celui qui . . . . . dans Nou, au milieu du ciel d'en haut et du ciel d'en bas."†

// Le noble, digne de respect, qui . . . . . sur la terre," sexpression qui se compare très à-propos avec celle-ci, empruntée à un monument d'Abydos :—

Ce dernier exemple, ainsi que le suivant :--

<sup>\*</sup> CHAMPOLLION, Notices, II, 102.

<sup>†</sup> Lepsius, Denkmäler, III, 150a, ligne 2 (époque de Ramsès II). Cfr. Le-FÉBURE, dans les Proceedings, XII, page 441, note 5.

<sup>‡</sup> LEPSIUS, Denkmäler, III, 150a, ligne 5.

<sup>§</sup> DE Rougé, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, XXIV, ligne 5.

<sup>|</sup> MARIETTE, Abydos, II, 56e.

T Extrait de texte, emprunté à un tombeau de Scheikh-abd-el-Gourna.

Quant au sens du groupe qui nous occupe, celui de "Genosse" camarade, proposé par notre collègue de Berlin, pourrait peut-être s'entendre pour les trois ou quatre exemples qu'il a allégués, mais si l'on veut appliquer ce même sens à la série de preuves que nous venons d'énumérer, on va se heurter, en plusieurs occasions, à des difficultés insurmontables. Cfr. notablement les exemples i, k, l, m, d'en haut; et de même un exemple que nous donnons dans la suite.

En cherchant une valeur substantive pour le mot \( \), on serait possiblement autorisé à établir une comparaison avec le groupe \( \), qui est connu par un monument\* de la même époque—le Nouvel Empire—de laquelle datent tous les passages† où se voit le mot qui est notre sujet d'étude. Ce groupe \( \) \( \) \( \) accompagne comme étiquette des objets qui ressemblent à l'hiéroglyphe \( \), et qui représentent évidemment des bâtons, des appuis. Ces objets sont faits en ébène, avec le manche en or et la virole en argent, par conséquent ce sont, dans ce cas, des objets de luxe, ce qui n'exclue point qu'on ait pu avoir des \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \) de fabrication moins coûteuse.

Le mot \(\)\dip\(\)\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\) se rapproche très à-propos du mot fréquent \(\)\dip\(\)\

Toutefois, la constance avec laquelle partout on emploie le signe syllabique  $\downarrow$ , me porte à regarder  $\downarrow \downarrow \searrow$ ,  $\Longrightarrow \downarrow \searrow$  comme une formation analogue à  $\downarrow \searrow$   $\downarrow \backslash \backslash$  "nègre,"  $\downarrow \searrow$  "sceptre," etc.  $\S$  Il faut donc peut-être admettre l'existence d'un

<sup>\*</sup> LEPSIUS, Denkmäler, III, 64. Tombeau qui occupe un point de l'Occident Thébain.

<sup>†</sup> Excepté un seul, celui-là tiré de l'Ostracon Sinouhe. Mais comme je n'ai pas été à même d'étudier cet ostracon—car je n'en possède pas de photographie, et c'est seulement par la remarque de M. Erman que j'ai su qu'il renferme le groupe  $\mathbb{R}$ —je ne sais pas s'il date réellement du Moyen Empire; il se pourrait qu'il fût une copie plus moderne, dont la forme aussi aurait été modernisée.

<sup>‡</sup> Piehl, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques. Première Série, Pl. I, ligne 6.

<sup>§</sup> Voir mon article dans les Proceedings, XI, pages 139-142.

radical égyptien , , qui serait à , un peu ce que, par exemple, est à , ou est à , ces radicaux à une consonne et une voyelle (la dernière souvent sous-entendue) paraissent de bonne heure avoir eu la tendance de disparaître de la langue égyptienne, ce qui explique leur rareté relative dans la littérature de cette langue.

"Se montrer sous un jour favorable, se manifester brillamment"
—voilà des sens qui semblent convenir aux passages où se rencontre
le prétendu radical , , , du groupe ) ; , , , , , .

On serait peut-être disposé à rapprocher le radical nouveau  $\mathbb{R}$ , et alors on pourrait citer à l'appui les deux formes dialectales  $\mathbb{R}$  et  $\mathbb{R}$  que nous offre le *Papyrus Harris* No. 1\* pour un même mot. A ce sujet, il faudrait relever nombre de passages où le verbe  $\mathbb{R}$  s'emploie exactement, comme par exemple,  $\mathbb{R}$  du passage de texte marqué par la lettre i; ainsi que le passage de texte que voici:

Les voici :-

<sup>\*</sup> PIEHL, Dialectes Egyptiens, retrouvés au Papyrus Harris No. 1, page 13.

<sup>+</sup> Petites Etudes Egyptologiques, pages 1-28.

\* Que je n'avais pas été trop hardi, en assignant à la combinaison de son de la stèle de Tombos le rôle de suffixe, cela est prouvé par d'autres textes égyptiens où l'on s'est plu à accumuler des suffixes d'ordre divers. A ce sujet, je citerai une petite inscription que vient de publier M. GEORGES DARESSY (Recueil de Vieweg, XIV, page 24): Nous rencontrons ici un nombre de preuves indiquant que l'écrivain de ce texte n'a pas été inspiré par un goût bien littéraire; nous voyons, au contraire, que son style accuse des tendances bien rustiques, mais-d'autant plus sympatiques aux "passants" est une forme veux du linguiste. "Nisbe"] a été mis après le suffixe pronominal et de cette manière, le susdit se trouve employé deux fois dans chacun de ces exemples—ce qu'il y a d'énigmatique dans mes paroles sera clair, quand je trouverai l'occasion de parler plus longuement de "Nisbe"-comme aussi visiblement dans les mots finals : Le pléonasme est une figure syntactique for aimée chez les individus incultes, comme chez les classes de bas étage.

† A un moment, j'ai voulu corriger les deux de en de les correction d'autant plus raisonnable que l'édition de Lepsius, dans ce cas, est criblée d'erreur. J'avoue que la dite correction me sourit encore.

Majesté s'est brillamment manifestée comme Horus, prenant possession de sa royauté pour des années innombrables."

Il est donc possible que nous devons enregistrer pour le Nouvel Empire un mot  $\{ \{ \} \}$ , varr.  $\{ \} \}$  et  $\{ \}$ , ayant le sens qu'en haut nous avons proposé ou un sens analogue.\*

89. En attendant que je puisse trouver l'occasion de traiter à fond la question, relative à la *liquida sonans* en égyptien, je me permets de citer une série de mots, écrits à l'aide du syllabique ter ou ter—selon les époques—qui ont des doublets sans le final. Les voici:—

\* Je ne saurais actuellement dire s'il faut expliquer, comme appartenant à cette catégorie, le titre [], que nous présentent les monuments de l'Ancien Empire.

Je crois devoir compter aussi ici:

Au moins pour les quatre premières paires, il me semble absolument sûr que chacune représente des mots d'origine identique.\*

90. L'équivalent hiéroglyphique du prétendu mot copte CKEN latus n'a pas été retrouvé jusqu'ici, et cela à bon droit, car la dite combinaison de signes représente en réalité deux mots: CKE + la marque de relation n, si fréquente dans la littérature copte.

Je serais disposé à chercher l'origine du mot CKE dans l'ancien latus qui par métathèse serait devenu CKE, de même que par exemple, zorp copte-sahidique est devenu and orp coptebohaïrique, ou l'ancien est devenu wec dans le dialecte sahidique, ou l'ancien dest devenu wux dans le dialecte bohaïrique, etc. Un exemple comme celui-ci : egequati ecken φιωει "il va séjourner près de la mer," se rapproche très bien du suivant: Tu entres et sors dans la grande salle des deux Maāt, auprès des Esprits de l'Occident;" + ECKE du premier exemple correspond parfaitement à 1 & du second. dernier groupe n'est, bien entendu, qu'une variante très rare, du mot fréquent, pour lequel nous pourrions citer des preuves innombrables, offrant un emploi analogue à celui du copte ECKE. Le copte se sert d'ailleurs du mot CKE dans une autre combinaison, j'entends celle-ci SICKE, où la préposition SI occupe la place de celle de e de la forme sus-mentionnée. Et de même, la langue

<sup>\*</sup> Un exemple, particulièrement intéressant, de la liquida sonans nous offre la forme Papyrus Harris No. 1.

page 88] varr. Papyrus de Sineha, ligne 308]

par rapport au fréquent particulière du Papyrus de Sineha, ligne 308]

† Passage, emprunté au sarcophage 83 du British Museum.

ancienne nous offre une expression  $\frac{Q}{1}$ , d'où il ressort avec toute évidence que  $\frac{Q}{1}$  équivaut au copte CKE.

Je n'ai guère besoin d'expliquer le K de la forme CKE à métathèse, par rapport au 6 de la forme régulière 6 oc, 6 ic "demi," car d'un côté les lettres K et 6 se permutent quelquefois entre elles \* au copte, de l'autre côté la présence de K de CKE peut montrer une tendance de faciliter la prononciation du son qui vient après s.†

91. Le chapitre 15 du *Livre des Morts*; contient, à la ligne 38, le passage suivant:—

que personne, à ma connaissance, jusqu'ici n'a su bien expliquer. M. Lefébure, en 1868, § a donné pour notre passage cette traduction: "Les grands font des offrandes à toi, tu as créé eux, salut de la terre;" et en 1892, M. Le Page Renouf || traduit de la sorte: "The great Ones make offerings to thee, who for thee have created the soil of earth."

C'est la partie soulignée des deux traductions qui me semble être susceptible d'une modification importante et que, pour ma part, je voudrais rendre ainsi : ("Les grands te présentent des oblations,) ils te font des prosternations."

Le groupe  $\sqrt[q]{}$ , var.  $\sqrt[q]{}$ , qui surtout est fréquent pendant la période, dite des Basses Époques, signifie, comme l'a prouvé fort bien notre regretté collègue von Bergmann, "'lobpreisen,

de texte copte que voici: Raφapnaoves OH eT SICKEN ΦΙΟΣ, "Kapernaoum qui est situé à côté de la mer" (Ev. sel. St. Math. 4, 13) fournit une preuve nouvelle à l'appui de notre rapprochement.

‡ LEPSIUS, Todtenbuch, XV, 38.

§ Lefébure, Traduction comparée des hymnes du  $XV^c$  chapitre du Rituel tunéraire égyptien, page 88.

| Proceedings, XIV, page 356.

¶ Der Sarkophag des Panehemisis, page 19.

<sup>\*</sup> Cfr. STERN, Koptische Grammatik, page 24.

92. Dans une de mes notes antérieures, § jai donné une série d'exemples à l'effet de faire voir que le signe , quelquefois au moins, a la valeur de fu. A cette occasion, je n'ignorais nullement qu'on pût relever des || cas où—del'avis d'autres savants— semblait devoir se lire d'une façon différente. Toutefois mon opinion n'étant pas arrêtée sous ce dernier rapport, je crus prudent de laisser hors de compte les cas susmentionnés.

Un article, publié dernièrement par M. Max Müller dans le Recueil de Vieweg,¶ critiquant mes quelques lignes sur la lecture du signe , je regarde comme opportun d'examiner ici les vues

<sup>\*</sup> BRUGSCH, Thesaurus, IV, page 758.

<sup>†</sup> PIEHL, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, Première Série, Pl. LXXXI, 3.

<sup>‡</sup> BRUGSCH and DÜMICHEN, Recueil, VI, 186.

<sup>§</sup> Proceedings, XI, page 224.

<sup>∥</sup> A ce sujet, je pense particulièrement au passage des textes d'Ounas et Teta (Zeitschrift, 1884, page 86), où △ 🎧 🏗 de l'un correspond à △ 🎧 🔐 de l'autre. La présence de 🦰 m'avait paru nécessiter pour le second une prononciation, quelque peu différente de celle du premier, acception que je maintiens encore, comme on va le voir dans la suite.

<sup>¶</sup> XV, pages 32-36.

de mon honorable contradicteur, d'autant plus que celles-là, sous plusieurs rapports, ne lui sont pas personnelles, mais bien au contraire sont partagées par d'autres égyptologues, voire même par toute une école égyptologique.

Premièrement, je proteste contre la manière nonchalante, dont M. Max Müller traite les hiérogrammates des basses époques; et cette nonchalance n'en est pas moins blâmable, parce qu'elle peut invoquer l'exemple d'autres savants-fort autorisés sur d'autres terrains, il est vrai, mais ne connaissant que très superficiellement la langue de l'époque gréco-romaine. Plus on pénètre loin dans l'étude de l'égyptien de cette dernière époque, plus on s'étonne que les traditions d'autrefois aient pu si bien se conserver, comme nous le font voir justement les textes des temples de Dendéra et d'Edfou et d'autres, datant des derniers siècles de l'Egypte pharaonique. J'emplois ici le terme "pharaonique" pour désigner tout le temps où l'on s'est servi d'hiéroglyphes comme écriture, cette écriture dénotant le souverain par le titre "Pharaon." Si l'on se donne d'ailleurs la peine de comparer les rédactions gréco-romaines de textes égyptiens à de plus anciennes, faites pour les mêmes documents, on verra que les premières en général sont très correctes et qu'elles ne renferment qu'un très petit nombre de fautes—ces fautes étant souvent dues à des écrivains d'époque antérieure. L'emploi fréquent de l'écriture énigmatique dans les textes de basse époque nous permet souvent de contrôler et d'apprécier les connaissances des scribes d'alors, connaissances qui se montrent la plupart des fois très exactes et qui nous autorisent à désapprouver hautement de la thèse de M. MAX MÜLLER: "Denn was ist der Unterschied von , , , , , , für einen Hierogrammaten der Römerzeit!" Sans cette exactitude des lettrés de basse époque, il nous serait sans doute impossible de retrouver, comme nous le faisons constamment, la valeur et la lecture de bon nombre de ces signes qui sont caractéristiques à la période susdite.

Deuxièmement, il n'est nullement prouvé—et je tiens particulièrement à relever cette circonstance non seulement à l'adresse de M. MÜLLER, mais aussi à celle de beaucoup d'autres égyptologues, partisans du même avis que lui—que la langue qui nous est connue par les textes des pyramides de Saqqârah, de même, que par les mastabas de l'ancien empire, soit à regarder comme la mère, par exemple, de la langue, conservée dans les inscriptions des tombeaux de BéniHassan. En d'autres termes, la parenté qu'il y a entre la langue des 4-6 premières dynasties et celle de la XII<sup>e</sup>, n'implique pas avec nécessité la notion d'une filiation directe. La première—pour employer une image—peut tout aussi bien être la *tante* de la seconde. N'ayant pas encore poussé assez loin mes investigations sur ce terrain, je ne me hasarderai pas à donner une tournure plus affirmative à mon acception que j'espère pouvoir mieux soutenir une autre fois.

Troisièmement, il n'est pas encore établi que l'égyptien soit une langue sémitique, et quand même il y ait des indices qui parlent en faveur d'une liaison entre les deux idiômes, il est d'une méthode vraiment scientifique de ne pas procéder, comme si les preuves définitives avaient déjà été délivrées à l'appui de la susdite parenté. Qu'on laisse l'égyptien être égyptien jusqu'au moment qu'il se soit révélé comme une langue bien sémitique! Cela dit, je proteste contre l'adoption de ces signes idéographiques 3, c, etc., qu'on a voulu introduire dans les transcriptions des textes égyptiens. Je sais bien que les dits signes représentent des sons pour les

langues sémitiques, mais tant qu'on n'a pas prouvé la présence de ces sons \* en égyptien-et je n'en ai rien vu-je persisterai à appeler 3, 6, des signes idéographiques, quant à l'égyptien. A la même occasion, je proteste contre la thèse, soutenue et développée par l'école à laquelle appartient M. MÜLLER, suivant laquelle l'égyptien supprimerait constamment les voyelles; cette thèse résulte aussi de tendances vers le sémitisme. Suivant cette manière de voir, , , , , , , , , , ne seraient que des consonnes. En rapprochant, par exemple, les mots anciens 元, community of the des équivalents coptes orwnu, てorwt, TOOT, on ne peut éviter, selon la nouvelle école, d'établir l'équi-pas énoncer ici la remarque que cette dernière assertion est particulièrement malencontreuse, quand elle vient d'un allemand, car l'histoire de la langue allemande devait presque amener à formuler une thèse diamétralement opposée à la susdite. Cette langue, en passant de "mittelhochdeutsch" à "neuhochdeutsch," subit des changements qui sont très instructifs pour le sujet qui nous occupe. Ainsi, par exemple, la voyelle longue û, caractéristique du premier, s'ouvre à la diphtongue au, à l'entrée de la seconde période. Le mot hûs se transforme en celui de haus par suite de ce développement. De même mûs passe à maus, lûs à laus, etc. Supposons maintenant que le "mittelhochdeutsch" dans l'écriture sautât les voyelles, comme le fait l'égyptien, et que par conséquent la dite langue écrivît les exemples susdits : hs, ms, ls, ne serait-on pas tenté de proposer pour ces derniers mots médiévals la vocalisation haus, maus, laus, parce que le "neuhochdeutsch" les présente sous cette

Si donc la plus grande réserve est exigée pour des langues qui sont notoirement et péremptoirement apparentées, elle a encore plus d'à-propos quand il s'agit de langues dont la parenté n'est pas encore suffisamment établie.

<sup>\*</sup> Un bon exemple du grand danger qu'il y a à vouloir à priori attribuer à des lettres, appartenant à deux langues indiscutablement congénères, la même prononciation, nous est fourni par la comparaison du F latin avec le  $\Phi$  grec, qui, étymologiquement, sont identiques (efr., par exemple, fero =  $\phi \hat{\epsilon} \rho \omega$ ), mais qui, néanmoins, se prononçaient de manières différentes ; témoin, entre autre, Cicero, qui s'amuse à propos d'un grec qui, au tribunal, cite un romain, Fundanius, tout en l'appelant Phundanius. (RUMPELT, Das natürliche System der Sprachlaute, page 57.)

<sup>†</sup> Steindorff, Das Altägyptische Alphabet und seine Umschreibung, page 722.

forme? Si fait—bien entendu, en se plaçant sur le terrain de ceux qui nient la valeur vocalique de , , , \* etc.

Toutefois, il faut bien se garder de contester les faits, quand même ils s'opposent à des théories préconçues sur l'inaltérabilité des langues. D'ailleurs, je trouve bien risqué de me prononcer dès maintenant sur la lecture phonétique adoptée pendant la XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> dynasties, pour les mots qui existent encore dans la langue copte du 3<sup>e</sup> et 4<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, tant que le copte reste le point de départ essentiel de nos développements, relatifs à la prononciation de l'égyptien ancien.

QUATRIÈMEMENT, dans les recherches de cet ordre, où il s'agit de comparer au point de vue *phonétique* des formes de mots, séparées très souvent par des milliers d'années, quant à leurs emploi

\* Loc. cit., page 721, se lit: Im Koptischen . . . . . . wird \_\_\_\_ durch kein besonderes Zeichen wiedergegeben; z.B. r' (vocalisirt \* rē') = ph "Sonne"; 'hm (vocalisirt, nach Art der meisten trilitteralen Verben, 'ohem)=wuest "auslöschen"; š' (vocalisirt \* šō')= \underwarpsi "Sand"; 'k "Brot" (vocalisirt \*'oik, wie die zweiradicaligen MOEIT "Mehl", MOEIK "Ehebrecher")=OEIK. Es bedarf wohl demnach keines besonderen Hinweises mehr, dass in diesen Beispielen die Vocale H w oder der Diphthong OEI nicht dem \_\_\_\_ nentsprechen, sondern vielmehr die von dem \_\_\_\_ völlig unabhängigen Bildungsvokale dieser Wörter sind." Pour ma part, je ne me contente pas de cette argumentation en faveur d'un \_\_\_\_ non-vocalique, et je me permets d'attirer l'attention de M. STEINDORFF sur les façons dont en "althochdeutsch" s'écrit la conjonction allemande und, à s'avoir ant, ent, int, ont, unt, etc. La différence de voyelles pourrait nous amenener ici à identifier entre elles toutes ces voyelles, cela d'accord avec le système, préconisé par l'école dont MM. STEINDORFF et MAX MÜLLER sont des élèves-bien que nous ne pensions pas qu'il faille accepter cette manière de voir. On serait aussi autorisé-suivant le même système-à formuler la thèse, que les susdites formes ant, ent, etc., n'avaient exprimé que les matres lectionis de leurs voyelles: cela ferait peut-être le meilleur pendant de l'assertion que nous venons de citer, suivant laquelle "\_\_\_\_n n'est représenté par aucun signe spécial dans la langue copte."-Comme un bon sujet de réflexion pour les philologues, aimant à voir en chaque voyelle le porteur d'un seul son, nous citerons quelques paroles d'un auteur, bien compétent en la matière. C'est WHITNEY, qui dit au sujet de l'anglais moderne: "in Betreff der Vocale findet das Verhältniss statt, dass jeder der geschriebenen Vocale zwischen drei und neun verschiedene Lautwerthe besitzt, während auch umgekehrt jeder gesprochene Vocal auf mehrere Arten, von zwei bis zu zwölf, in der Schrift ausgedrückt werden kann" (Die Sprachwissenschaft, bearb. von Jolly, page 149). Pour une écriture, aussi conservatrice que celle de l'égyptien, on ne peut guère citer un meilleur pendant moderne que l'ortographe anglaise actuelle.

dans la langue égyptienne, il faut être très circonspect dans l'application du procédé mathématique. Car les langues n'agissent pas seulement conformément à des lois logiques et mécaniques, mais elles sont aussi sujettes à l'influence, voire même aux caprices de l'esprit humain. Les lois analogiques ont un vaste champ libre où elles peuvent s'exercer, et, par exemple, la différence de vocalisation que, dans une note précédente, nous venons de constater entre OEIK, PH, WHELL, qui tous renvoient à un \_\_\_\_\_\_ ancien, peut fort bien résulter d'un jeu ou plutôt de plusieurs jeux de l'analogie, ayant opéré à des époques différentes. N'oublions pas non plus l'influence de l'accent, les mots empruntant surtout leur valeur à la place qu'ils occupent dans l'enchaînement dont ils forment des anneaux.

[1893.

Un petit exemple, emprunté au copte, peut nous éclairer sur l'influence de l'analogie. L'ancien égyptien a un mot "ouvrir" qui correspond, dans la langue-fille,\* à orwn, oren—
[oron=], orhn, comme se présente la série complète des formes que nous connaissons pour l'équivalent du susdit mot hiéroglyphique. Il y a aussi un mot "ouvrir", composé de "ouvrir", qui dans la langue-fille est reflété par orwns. Suivant le procédé mathématique, la forme qualitative de ce dernier devait être orhns, la forme qualitative du orwn simple étant orhn, mais il n'en est rien. C'est que l'analogie a fait passer orwns par la même série de formes qui caractérisent des verbes simples, comme cwth, cwhs, kwhn, etc.

De même etwpee, etwpe, composés par le verbe et les substantifs  $\circ$ ,  $\uparrow$ , ont été traités comme des verbes simples d'après la sixième classe de Stern, bien qu'on aurait pu s'attendre à une série de forme comme IPIEE, EPEE—, LIEE—, OIEE, etc., si l'on se serait placé sur le terrain du procédé mathématique. Les exemples pourraient se multiplier indéfiniment, mais  $\delta$   $\delta \chi \omega \nu$   $\delta \tau a$   $\delta \kappa \gamma \omega \nu$   $\delta \kappa \tau a$   $\delta \kappa \gamma \kappa \sigma c$ .

<sup>\*</sup> En appelant le copte langue-fille de l'égyptien, je me conforme à un usage très répandu, mais qui n'est sans doute pas tout-à-fait correct j

Je me permets toujours—et malgré l'affirmation péremptoire qu'on vient de lire—de soutenir que  $\mathcal{A}$  équivaut à fu, ce qui n'empêche pas que l'égyptien ait pu quelquefois introduire une voyelle entre f et u, comme, par exemple, dans  $\mathbb{A}$ , à côté de  $\mathbb{A}$ ; et je citerai, en faveur de ma thèse, quelques exemples qui me semblent mériter un peu d'attention de la part de mon critique. Ce sont:—

de cet exemple nécessite pour des expressions comme A P,+,+ tes transcriptions fu àb, àb-k fu. Douter que le signe de ces derniers exemples ait la valeur de fu, cela ne me semble aucunement possible. J'avoue d'ailleurs ne pas bien comprendre la différence de transcription que M. MÜLLER prétend exister entre  $f \approx w \ (= \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \int_{\mathbb{R}^3} \sqrt{1})$  "puissant" et  $\approx w \ (= \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \sqrt{1})$ "long, large"-cette dernière forme, selon lui, ne signifiant jamais "reich, voll"—car rien n'est plus commun dans le langage que le passage de la signification "long, large," à cette de "puissant, riche." Toutefois, on peut éprouver le besoin de différencier par l'écriture les deux sens et cela explique peut-être, pourquoi fu "puissant" s'écrit le plus souvent , tandisque fu "large," a adopté comme regulière la forme ( ). Une pareille distinction ne serait guère plus choquante que celle, établie par exemple en suédois entre "pligt" (devoir) et "plikt" (amende),

<sup>\*</sup> CHAMPOLLION, Monuments, LXVIII.

<sup>†</sup> DÜMICHEN, Tempel-Inschriften, I, CVI, 3.

<sup>‡</sup> Papyrus d'Ani, 19, ligne 2 and 7.

tous les deux ayant une origine commune (l'allem. Pflicht).—A ce sujet, il ne faut point identifier comme prononciation les deux mots ce sujet, il ne faut point identifier comme prononciation les deux mots ce sujet, il ne faut point identifier comme prononciation les deux mots ce sujet, il ne faut point identifier comme prononciation les deux mots ce sujet, il ne faut point identifier date des basses époques et doit se lire afu. En comparant entre elles la version du chapter XV qui nous a été conservée par le papyrus d'Ani, et celle du Todtenbuch, nous voyons que celle du second. Mais je ne connais aucune preuve du mot du second. Mais je ne connais aucune preuve du mot cu quant à la belle époque hiéroglyphique, et je ne vois pas pourquoi les basses époques n'auraient pu créer des mots nouveaux et des formes nouvelles; du reste il serait aisé d'en citer en nombre.

"le souffle doux du vent du nord."\* Nous savons par d'autres textes que le signe se prononçait entre autre , ; † il serait donc téméraire de vouloir combattre la lecture du signe du groupe du groupe. Dans ces circonstances, je n'hésiterais nullement à lire às-nefu le groupe ptolémaïque le groupe ptolémaïque etc., indiquent peut-être des tendances de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes pronominales et de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes pronominales et de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes pronominales et de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes du pronominales et de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes pronominales et de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes pronominales et de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes pronominales et de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes pronominales et de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes pronominales et de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes pronominales et de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes pronominales et de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin. On avait les formes de l'étymologie populaire de se faire chemin.

<sup>\*</sup> PIEHL, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, Première Série, pl. CI, 8. Dupplicata du même texte, LEPSIUS, Denkmäler, III, 114.

<sup>†</sup> Voir PIEHL dans les Proceedings, XIII, page 45.

3°. L'à à côté de l'.† Nous connaisons aussi pour ce mot une forme qui est à le le de le l'été de l'été d

Les exemples cités me paraissent concluants pour la lecture fu que je soutiens toujours, quant au signe  $\bigcap$ .

a cote de Danier, etc., pourrait peut-etre s'expliquer de la même manière que l'insertion de w‡ dans l'arabe vulgaire houwa, "lui," doublet de houa, ou celle de j dans l'arabe vulgaire hîja, "elle," doublet de hîa. L'existence de doublets de mots comme ceux que nous venons de citer quant à l'Egyptien et quant au dialecte arabe de l'Egypte actuelle, est d'ailleurs un fait reconnu pour toutes les langues. Cfr., par exemple, l'allem. Schlucht et Schluft, "fente," l'allem. sacht et sanft, tous les deux identiques à l'anglais soft; pour le français on pourrait citer chaire et chaise (lat. cathedra), cou et col (collum), etc.§

Il y a encore un point de l'article de M. MAX MÜLLER, sur lequel je ne me suis pas prononcé et que je ne puis guère passer sous silence: j'entends la nouvelle règle, établie par lui, selon laquelle l'égyptien, quand il s'agissait d'écrire un mot qui ne pouvait s'écrire que par des lettres, aucun syllabique n'existant qui reproduisit une partie quelconque du mot ou le mot entier, aurait

<sup>\*</sup> Recueil de Vieweg, VII, 122; VIII, 165.

<sup>†</sup> BRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, VIII, page 1380.

<sup>‡</sup> L'effort d'éviter le hiatus qu'ici nous constatons, est un fait, souvent rencontré dans les langues. Cfr., par exemple, WEINHOLD, Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik, page 146: "Euphonisches w in bûwen, grûven," etc.

<sup>§</sup> DARMESTETER, La vie des mots, page 141.

interverti l'ordre des signes, si par cette mesure se formait une combinaison de signes qui pût se remplacer par un syllabique. Selon cette règle, le groupe (= afu de notre transcription), lecture qui ne pouvait se rendre que par des lettres ( si l'on ne préférait intervertir l'ordre des signes  $f_3w$ , auquel cas remplacerait la combinaison de sons 3w.\*

Les exemples cités en faveur de la nouvelle règle † ne sont pas de nature à vous convaincre, et le point de départ de l'auteur-des mots empruntés aux langues sémitiques, dans lesquels il aurait d'abord constaté la dite inversion-semble bien sujet à de la critique. En effet, rien n'est plus fréquent dans le langage que la dénaturation des mots étrangers qui s'inoculent dans tel ou tel idiome. Les indigènes font de leur mieux pour adapter la forme de l'étranger à leurs organes vocaux et, à cet effet, se servent de tous les moyens qui leur sont accessibles. Non seulement ils modifient des sons et suppriment des désinences, mais très souvent ils renversent l'ordre des syllabes et des sons ‡-du vocable étranger. Cette dernière mesure est presque de rigueur quand le mot à transplanter contient des combinaisons de sons qui ne sont pas familières à la langue adoptante ou quand, par un renversement des sons du dit mot, on obtient des combinaisons de sons, bien fréquentes dans l'idiome en question. Nous croyons donc que le choix de mots d'origine sémitique comme base de la nouvelle théorie, concernant l'écriture hiéroglyphique, a été bien malheureux. Mais les mots d'origine égyptienne que notre auteur a allégués en faveur de sa thèse ne sont, à notre avis, pas plus

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<sup>\*</sup> On se souvient que l'auteur de la nouvelle règle a formulé la thèse

<sup>†</sup> Quand l'auteur cite ce sien ouvrage, où a paru cette prétendue règle, il nous renvoie à la Zeitschrift, 1892, sans indication ultérieure. Je prendrai la permission de désigner cette espèce de citation comme pour la moins négligente J'ai dû regarder et parcourir 3 articles de notre jeune collègue avant d'avoir trouvé l'endroit de la Zeitschrift, où la matière en question a été exposée.

<sup>‡</sup> Le copte  $\kappa \in \lambda \in \underline{\Lambda}$  in, "cognée," fournit un bon exemple d'un pareil renversement de sons, car, selon moi, nous devons le regarder comme une forme défigurée du grec  $\pi \epsilon' \lambda \in \kappa \nu s$ . Ou faut-il réellement le rapprocher de יבילפור.

probants. C'est là le cas du nom  $\bigcup_{\infty}^{\infty}$  de la ville d'Héliopolis, au sujet duquel il est dit que la valeur phonétique en devait être i'un (=  $\dot{a}un$  selon la transcription ordinaire) parce que le copte bohaïrique correspondant est  $\mathcal{E}^{\bullet}$ III mola. Toujours le procédé mathématique! D'ailleurs, est-ce que  $\mathcal{E}$  de  $\bigcup_{\infty}^{\infty}$  réellement a la valeur de nu, ou ne faut-il pas plutôt remettre ici son jugement jusqu'au moment où l'on connaît le rôle qu'a joué le  $\mathcal{E}$  final que nous rencontrons dans nombre de mots égyptiens.

Je ne nie du reste pas qu'une règle, semblable à celle que nous venons de mentionner, ne puisse avoir existé en égyptien, bien que je n'en aie aucun exemple et que M. M. MÜLLER n'en ait pu fournir non plus, dans l'ouvrage auquel il nous a renvoyé avec tant d'abandon.

93. Dans une note qui a paru dernièrement,\* il est dit: "On sait que le Lion se nomme الليوة (תוצבס المراق), tandisque la Lionne s'appelle الليوة (خمية (ألليوة المراق)). Cette thèse a été enoncée en guise d'exemple de la règle généralement reconnue, qu'en égyptien, tout comme en d'autres langues, deux racines différentes quelquefois doivent être mises à contribution quand il s'agit de désigner le mâle et la femelle d'une seule et même espèce.

Toutesois, l'exemple en question n'est guère correct. Car si le Lion s'appelle incontestablement Lionne se nomme avec la même certitude .\* Quant à la forme copte (†) La Boi, elle est bien exacte, mais n'est en réalité qu'un emprunt, fait aux langues sémitiques, témoin non seulement la forme arabe لبوة qui vient d'être citée, mais encore l'hébreu לְבָוֹא ' lionne." On pourrait être tenté de voir en également un emprunt sémitique. Ce n'est pourtant pas mon opinion. Et je ne crois pas que le déterminatif , donné tant par Brugsch† que par de Rougé, ‡ existe dans l'original. Au moins la copie, publiée par Champollion, § ne fournit pas ce signe, et il a vu la tombe de 🏻 🖍 🎁 —celle d'où provient le seul exemple connu du mot 🗻 🕽 🖟 — à une époque où elle était sans doute mieux conservée que lorsque les Brugsch et les DE ROUGÉ l'ont visitée. A l'aide de la copie Champollion, je crois devoir lire la légende du *lion couché* (!) de la sorte:

La manière dont a été tracée notre inscription autorise pleinement l'arrangément que, par exemple à la différence de Brugsch, je me suis permis d'adopter, et contre ma traduction il n'y a guère non plus de remarques sérieuses à faire. Cette traduction part d'ailleurs du fait qui bien mérite d'être notée, qu'il s'agit ici non pas d'une lionne, mais d'un lion couché. En réalité, quiconque regarde le dessin de

<sup>\*</sup> Brugsch, Recueil de monuments, II, pl. 71, l. 4.

<sup>†</sup> Wörterbuch, page 883.

<sup>‡</sup> Mémoire de l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien, page 66.

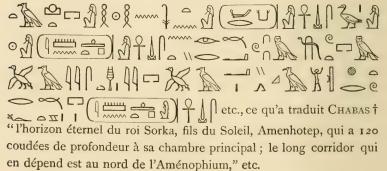
<sup>§</sup> Monuments, pl. CLXXX.

<sup>||</sup> La tombe se trouve à El-Assassif, actuellement dans un état fort dégradé. Lors de ma dernière visite, je n'ai pu retrouver la légende ni l'image, publiées par Champollion. Pour les inscriptions du monument, voir mes *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, Première Série, pl. CXLII, CXLIII, et le texte explicatif que j'y ai joint.

Champollion pourra se convaincre de l'exactitude de cette dernière observation. Par cela, la lecture ("lionne" devient définitivement écartée.

Il y a encore une raison, assez pesante, qui parle contre l'existence d'un mot indigène égyptien of parle comme désignation de la femelle de l'espèce, dont le mâle s'appelle of c'est l'étymologie du mot of the contre l'existence. On ne peut guère séparer ce mot \* de la désignation, of the contre l'existence ce mot \* de la désignation, of the contre l'existence ce mot \* de la désignation, of the contre le guère séparer ce mot \* de la désignation de la

94. Au Papyrus Abbot, dont nous devons une si magnifique reproduction à l'administration éclairée du British Museum, se lit à la page 2, lignes 2 et 3, les paroles suivantes:



\* Je sais qu'on a fourni d'autres étymologies pour le mot

† Mélanges Egyptologiques, III, 1, page 60.

La traduction de M. MASPERO\* est celle-ci: "L'horizon éternel du roi Sarka, fils du Soleil, Aménophis, qui a cxx coudées de profondeur dans sa grande salle [ainsi que] le long couloir qui se trouve au nord du temple d'Aménophis," etc.

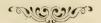
Pour être indépendantes † et fautives à la fois, ces deux traductions se ressemblent étonnamment l'une à l'autre.

Il y a deux points, sur lesquels je crois devoir faire de l'opposition. D'abord, le groupe masculin ne signifie, à ma connaissance, nulle part ailleurs "chambre principale, grande salle;" tandisque "stèle, monument, monument dressé" ‡ semble être un sens fréquent pour le dit mot.

De même, example, ne signifie ni "en dépendre," ni "se trouver," mais plutôt "s'appeler, se nommer." Cfr., par exemple, Pap. Harris No. 1, 60, 3: (OMM) (OMM

Cela étant, je proposerai de traduire le passage cité d'après le Papyrus Abbot, de la manière suivante: "L'horizon éternel du roi Amenhotep, qui a 120 coudées de profondeur à partir de son monument (d'entrée); il se nomme "le long corridor," étant situé au nord de l'Amenophium," etc.

§ Je corrige et lis . Cette correction en nécessite une autre. Pl. II, ligne 4, il faut lire : . L'erreur qu'ici nous avons supposée, s'éxplique aisément, si l'on considère que le tombeau de Sorka est énuméré parmi une série de monuments pareils qui s'appellent , substantif qui est du genre masculin.



<sup>\*</sup> Une enquête judiciaire, page 13.

<sup>†</sup> MASPERO, ibid., préface.

<sup>‡</sup> Brugsch, Wörterbuch, page 928.

#### EL KAB AND GEBELÊN.

## By G. WILLOUGHBY FRASER, F.S.A.

§ I. El Kab. This winter Mr. Blackden and myself visited both places in his dahabeah the "Strange Hathor." At El Kab we copied some hitherto unpublished graffiti, but on reaching Cairo we found that Prof. Sayce had anticipated our would-be discovery by a few weeks, and we are indebted to him for kind permission to publish the El Kab notes.

The temple of Amenophis III is the best preserved of the desert monuments: the walls have been decorated by both ancient and modern tourists. Baedeker mentions an inscription in the third year of Napoleon III, and there is one which puzzled us greatly, dated in the 46th year of a king whose name read Henri-banr-merit, intended doubtless for Henri le bien aimé. The weathering in this case affords no clue, it is just the same as ancient graffiti of the XVIIIth or XXth dynasty. After photographing the interior of the temple, some of whose clearer graffiti have been published by Prof. Petrie ("Season in Egypt," Pl. XVII), we examined the rocks to the west of the temple, on the desert road.

Here the inscriptions are very numerous, ranging from the Vth to the XVIIIth dynasty. Names compounded with the cartouches of Teta and Pepi occur again and again. But Pepi's name is far the commonest.

The most important graffito of this date (VIth dynasty) was Fig. I. It is, we believe, quite new: its interest lies chiefly in the fact that it appears to point to there having been a temple near by even as early as the VIth dynasty. The date appears to be year 2, the 3rd month of Pert, the 5th day of the month. No king's name is given, but as the proper names are compounded with that of Pepi I, it perhaps refers to his reign. It is not as in the case of the Hat-nub griffiti, dated in the year of the monarch.

The rest of the inscription continues merely with a list of family names and titles: the chief man seems to have been *Her-n-ank*, his

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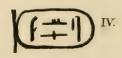
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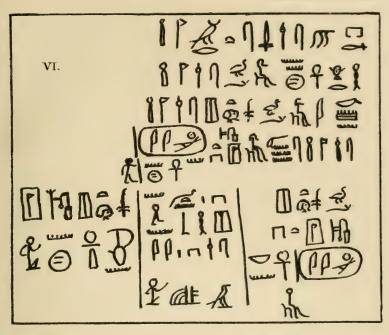
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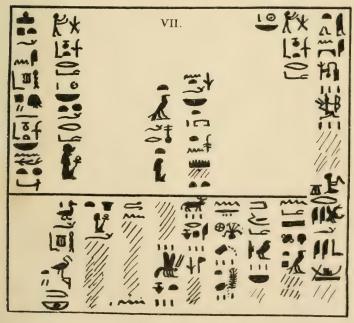
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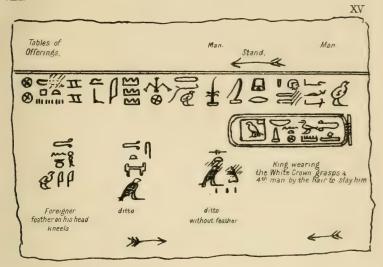


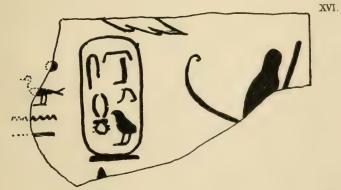




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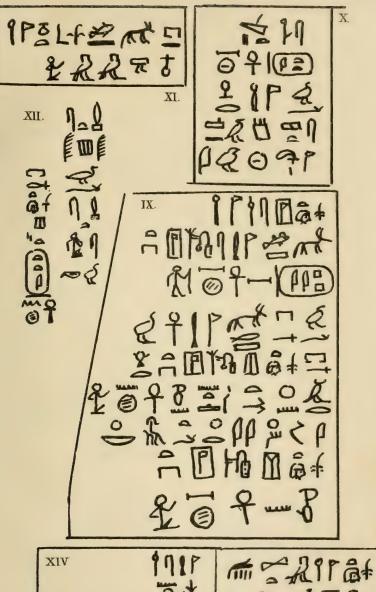


XVII.

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INSCRIPTIONS FROM EL KAB AND GEBELÊN III.





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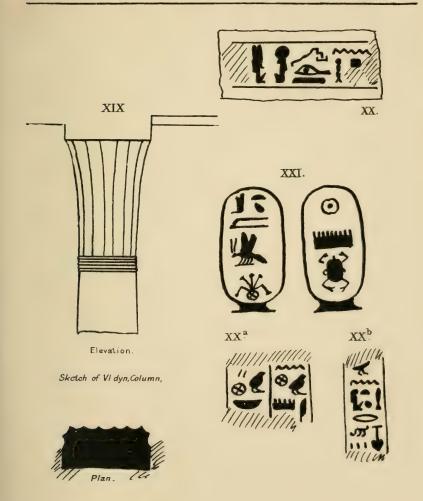




XVIII.

King offering to Anubis below is this Inscription.

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son was Ur-n-mena, his eldest son  $\chi$ ena $\dot{a}$ , then the "dep- $\chi$ er-suten," instructor of the divine priest(s), scribe of the temple Ra-meri- $\bar{a}$ nk, etc.

On a large free-standing rock with many names and titles of the VIth dynasty surrounding it, is a square tablet (Fig. II) bearing the name of a king who is only known by two other examples; he appears to have been called *Saradudumes*, and has no cartouche in this instance; his name is followed by a short inscription which reads "Khâ-m-uas; the amanuensis of the son of the sun Dudemes."

Fig. III gives the titles of a man named Tetà-ānk, who was a "courtier" (admitted to single or private audience) and chief of the agricultural department; also his son, the priest, who was "over the secrets,"  $\chi u\dot{a}$ .

(Fig. IV.) A cartouche doubtless intended for Assa, but on a very weathered and half-buried stone.

(Fig. V.) A courtier and seal-bearer ( $s\bar{a}hu$ ) Pepi-meri, and his son the instructor (?) antef.

(Fig. VI.) The titles begin  $Per-\bar{a}a$ -shen (?), the man's name being  $Her-n-\bar{a}nk$ , his son  $Kmen\dot{a}$ , his son Ra-meri- $\bar{a}nk$ , his son Ra-meri- $\bar{a}nk$  neben, his son . . . . (?) and the "dep  $\chi$ er suten," temple scribe, Khnum- $n-\bar{a}nk$ .

(Fig. VIII.) Pepi-ānk and his son  $\chi u$ -uadz.

(Fig. IX.) Here we have a different set of titles slightly. The royal superintendent of the temple, the instructor of the divine priest(s), the "Sāb-ard-mer," divine priest and temple scribe, Pepi-n-ānk, his son of many titles, ending with "chief of the prison (?)" Khnum-n-ānk, who is said to be "devoted to his father."

(Fig. X.) Tetå-ank and his son  $\chi$ uå.

(Fig. XI.) The Per-āa-sab-ard-mer (of) Ari-necheb (El kab), the divine priest nefer-semen (?)

(Fig. XII.) The seal-bearer apa, and one named Teta-ank; it is worth remarking that this is one of the inscriptions beside (Fig. II) that of Dudumes.

(Fig. XIII.) Here we have an officer of the palace, Thes- $\chi en$ , whose name was Antef.

(Fig. XIV.) . . . his brother, the instructor of the divine priest(s), Thesek.

Thus we have a list of titles and names which, with few exceptions, belong to the VIth dynasty or thereabouts. It is curious

that El Kab is only once mentioned (Fig. XI). We get the name Antef only twice in Fig. V, where his father has a VIth dynasty name, and in Fig. XIII, where the name may belong to a later date slightly.

The XVIIIth dynasty graffiti were partly published by Stern (Z.A.S., May and June, 1875), but there is one we have shown in Fig. VII, which is interesting, as it appears to have been cut by or for a man named Next, who lived under a queen, perhaps Hatshepset; he was "Kerheb," priest, and "Depi" of the town of El Kab; he speaks of an "arrival" from "his expedition," but there is unfortunately a good deal missing; his son was the "Kerheb," priest, Dzhuti-m-heb, and his sister the "royal nurse," Ta-nefert.

Leaving the desert, we visited the tombs in the hills; the principal ones are well known, but there is a VIth dynasty tomb which seems to have been overlooked. It was never entirely finished, and has now fallen in, but the finished part shows the roof cut to represent the half round under sides of the rafters of a wooden roof. As far as I am aware the only other example of this occurs in a tomb of the Vth or VIth dynasty at Tehneh (owner's name destroyed), but in the buried tombs of Sakarah there may be similar examples.

The roof was supported by columns, one of which has a finished capital with twenty-three (?) fluted sides, bound with five bands below, representing no doubt a palm. A sketch of it is shown (Fig. XIX), as we had no time to measure carefully.

It is very unlike the rough capitals of the same age at Sheik Said, and is interesting as one of the earliest examples yet known, I believe. In concluding these notes on El Kab, I ought to mention that the graffiti here given are only examples of a very large number which are scattered about there.

During this year a sphinx in white marble limestone from El Kab has been set up in the Museum at Ghizeh, it is identical in style with the black sphinxes from Tanis, which Mariette supposed to be Hyksos monuments. There is however no inscription on it either original or usurped. It has been broken in several pieces and a good deal defaced, still there is no mistaking it; even in small details it and the Tanis sphinxes are the same. We shall have occasion to refer to it again, but will now proceed to speak of Gebelên.

§ II. Gebelên is an isolated mass of rock situated on the west bank of the river within a day's sail of Thebes.

It is a spot of great natural strength and strategical importance, as it completely commands the water way. The rock itself is so narrow on top that it would not contain a town, but there is sufficient space for a strong fort and dependent buildings. The guide books tell us very little about it, as the first important excavations there were made by Monsieur Grébaut, late director of the Ghizeh Museum.

As far as we have been able to gather, the results of his works consist as follows: On the top of the rock he found the remains of a Ptolemaic shrine built by Ptolemy IX (Eueregtes II); in this shrine must have been a considerable statue in black basalt, fragments of which we saw on the ground during our visit. A few inscribed limestone blocks are still lying about (vide Figs. XX and XXa, XXb).

The shrine was surrounded by Ptolemaic houses, and in their walls and foundations were found several older inscribed blocks of limestone; amongst them portions of an early temple built by *Menthuhotep* of the XIth dynasty, besides several fragments of the roof with stars cut on it, a piece of the corner exterior moulding (?) of the shrine and fragments of scenes. A fairly complete scene was found on one block: the king wearing the white crown is shown, with his mace raised, and grasping a captive by the hair; before him kneel three figures, representatives of the peoples called *Thhen-uiu*, *Sethti* and the *Set-tiu* (?) (Fig. XV).

In his cartouche in this scene the king is called "Menthuhotep, son of Hathor lady of Ant" (Denderah). This title is unusual, but occurs in the name of Pepi I at Tanis, and on an alabaster lid with the name of Pepi (?) from Kena ("Tanis," Vol. I, Pl. 1). Another block gives the ordinary cartouche Sa Ra Menthuhotep.

The inscription shewn Fig. XV is given in the "Recueil," Vol. XIV, p. 26, but there are some mistakes in it which are here corrected from the original. The blocks are slightly reddened as if from the effects of fire.

A stela on bad stone represents a king Dad-nefer-ra son of the sun Dudumes led by who has a hawk's head and the plumes of Mentou; he is received by Anubis (Fig. XVIII); below are two lines of inscription. I am indebted to Monsieur Duressy's copy in the "Recueil," Vol. XIV, p. 26, for this stela, as I have been unable to find the original. He attributes it to the XIIIth or XIVth dynasty, but as before mentioned in El Kab

there are grounds for thinking it may belong to the VIth dynasty. These two inscriptions and a scarab giving his cartouche name are, I believe, the only records we have of this king.

A stone which has done duty in later times as a doorstep, but which is not much worn, gives us the name of Ra-āa-user (Fig. XVII), who is known to us as the Hyksos king Apepi I of Eisenlohr's "Mathematical Papyrus."

The sign user is here made with two legs surmounted by the head of Set.

Besides kings' names there are three private stelæ which seem to have come from Gebelên. Two of them are exceedingly rough, and bear the name of a man <code>Sebek-hotep;</code> the third is a large betterworked piece representing a man (name (?) destroyed) and his wife <code>Sent</code> with some lines of inscription.

Some fragments of Greek papyri and some curious Greek pottery with figures of dancing men painted inside and small loop handles with rings through them, complete, I believe, the list of objects found by the Museum.

We paid the place a visit this year and spent some time examining the old town on the plain at the north-west corner of the rock; it does not look older than the XVIIIth dynasty; on the surface is plenty of blue and red painted pottery; we found a piece of a great jar elaborately covered with lotus-flowers, buds and wreath round it, the pottery was red faced-yellow-white; the pattern in a dirty brown colour, the whole like the XIXth dynasty pottery; another jar of a much later style was white-faced with an ivy pattern in chocolate, this was however found on the top of the rock, not in the lower town; we picked up the cutting edge of a small hornstone adze highly polished, and then suddenly came upon a piece of a stela in good limestone (Fig. XVI) bearing the name of an unknown king Senb-iu-ma; we are just able to see that he is called the "son of the sun," and that he wears both the red and white crowns; the stela was surmounted by the winged disk. The name should perhaps be read Senb-i-ma-u, and belongs, we should imagine, to the XIIIth or XIVth dynasty.

A brick was brought us stamped with the cartouches of *Penedzem* III and his wife *Iset-m-nut* (Fig. XXI), it measured  $17 \times 7 \times 4$  inches. A few ostraca in demotic, and one apparently of the transition period between hieratic and demotic, were also found. To complete the list of kings' names found here we should

mention that Professor Sayce had already noted the cartouche of *Hormheb* on limestone, and some fine cutting on limestone very like the work of Sethi I, and which we can perhaps safely attribute to him.

And now, taking the history of kings' names as far as we know them, we get something like this:—

The earliest Dudumes VI-XIth (?) dynasty.

Menthuhotep, XIth dynasty
Senb-i-mau XIIIth or XIVth dynasty.
Ra-āa-user (?) XVIIth, Hyksos.
Hor-em-heb XVIIIth dynasty.
Sethi I XIXth dynasty.
Penedzem III XXIst dynasty.
And Ptolemy (IX Euergetes II).

To particularise: *Dudumes* is a difficulty, there is no doubt that his name at El Kab, surrounded as it is with VIth dynasty names and titles, must be contemporaneous with them; in fact some of them were probably actually cut after his had been placed there, but at Gebelên we have his second name *Dād-nefer-ra*, which seems like those of the XIth or XIIIth and XIVth dynasties. His scarab bears the second name contained in a continuous scroll; the work is better than the XIIIth or XIVth, so perhaps we shall not be wrong to place him between the VIth dynasty and the Antef kings of the XIth.

Menthuhotep appears to have built a temple in limestone, which we may presume was added to by Horemheb and Sethi I, as their work was also limestone.

Senbimau's cartouche was on a small stela which may have come from the temple, or from a tomb in the neighbourhood.

Ra-āa-user, or Apepi I's cartouches are on limestone, but the block, though, complete, is small, and may have been brought there as ballast in a boat, still it may possibly have belonged to some building or addition to the temple of Menthuhotep.

There is not much doubt about Penedzem III; he probably built a fortress similar to the ones he erected at El Howarteh, opposite Minia, and at El Hébeh, opposite Feshu. As has been pointed out in the *Academy*, April 8th, 1893, by Professor Sayce, there are the remains of a mud brick building, perhaps his palace at Rawâfa on the eastern bank, between Tûd and Luxor.

Ptolemy IX built a sandstone shrine on the top of the rock, and with him our history ceases, unless we include the shrine of the Arab Sheik el Moussa which now adorns the summit of the hill.

§ III. The Hyksos. Taking El Kab and Gebelên together, there is a question of considerable interest which presents itself.

If we allow that the so called Hyksos sphinxes are really Hyksos monuments, and not merely older monuments usurped by them, how are we to account for the El Kab sphinx and the name of Ra-āa-user at Gebelên?

Taking the view that the sphinxes are really what they have been supposed to be, we seem to have two alternatives in regard to El Kab, either that the sphinx was a trophy brought there by the victorious Ahmes after the victory of Avaris, or that it was placed there by the Hyksos themselves.

We learn from Manetho, quoted by Josephus, that the first king *Salatis* imposed a tribute on both Upper and Lower Egypt, and, in order to do so and to maintain their hold on the country, the Hyksos garrisoned certain strong places; what more likely than that El Kab and Gebelên were amongst the number, and that one of his successors, Aphophis, placed the sphinx at El Kab, and built some building from which the stone bearing his cartouches came? This building may have been at Gebelên, or near by.

During the XVth and XVIth dynasties the Hyksos seem to have held complete sway, and it is not till the XVIIth dynasty, or, according to Africanus, 518 years after their arrival in Egypt, that we again hear of a contemporary dynasty of native kings at Thebes.



#### JUNE OF

#### LETTRES DE TELL EL-AMARNA.

(8e Série).

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

I.

#### ARAD-ASRATOU AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

(Berlin, 97).

Protestation de fidélité d'Arad-Asratou, le même qu'Arad-Asirta, père d'Azirou.

- I. A-na šarri Šamši bil-ia
- 3. ardu-ka, ip-ri ša šipi-(ka).
- 4. A-na šipi šarri bil-ia
- 5. VII-šu u VII-šu am-kut.
- 6. A-mur, a-na-ku arad šarri u
- 7. kalbu ša biti-šu, u
- 8. mat A-mur-ri kab-ba-šu
- 9. a-na šarri bil-ia a-na-ṣa-ar-šu.
- 10. Ak-bi aš-ta-ni a-na ¶ Pa-ḥa-na-ti
- 11. Em rabiși-ia: li-ķa-mi
- 12. șabi bi-ta(?)-ti a-na na-șa-ri
- 13. amiluti šarri a-nu-ma kab-bi
- 14. šarru i-ta šarru sabi ḥabali(?)
- 15. ... ki .... sa-nim mat A-(mur-rı)
- 16. a-na ḥa-ba-lim iš-tu
- 17. . . . . ia u šu . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
- 19. . . . . . na-ṣa-ar . . . . . . . .
- 20. . . . . Y Ḥa-na . . . . . . . . . .
- 21. i-iš-al-šu šarru bilu(?)

- 22. šum-ma la a-na-șa-ar
- 23. ► Su-mu-ri ► Ul-la-za.
- 24. I-nu-ma Em rabișu-ia
- 25. i-na-ši šim-ti sarri → Šamaš,
- 26. u a-na-ku ši-kin tar-ši-i
- 27. Ša Su-mur, u kab-bi
- 28. matâti a-na šar-ri 🛶 Šamaš-ia
- 29. bil-ia a-na-sa-ar-šu,
- 30. u šarru bili-a lu-u i-da.
- 31. U i-ip-ķu(?)-id-ni i-na ķat
- 32. ▼ Pa-ḥa-na-ti E rabișu-ia.

#### TRADUCTION.

- (1) Au roi, dieu Soleil, mon maître, (2) en ces termes: Arad-Ašratou (3) ton serviteur, la poussière de tes pieds. (4) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, (5) sept fois, encore sept fois, je me prosterne.

# REMARQUES.

Ligne 12.—D'après l'autographie bi-la-ti, mais dans les passages analogues on trouve toujours bi-ta-ti, pi-da-ti.

Lignes 13-19.—D'après les vestiges qui restent du texte, il semble qu'Arad-Asratou se plaigne de pillards qui nuisent à son pays. Il demanderait donc des soldats auxiliaires pour les repousser.

Ligne 31.—I-ip-ku (?)-id-ni pour i-ip-ki-id-ni?

#### II.

#### YATIBIRI AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

# (British Museum, 57.)

Chaude protestation de dévouement au roi d'Egypte. Yatibiri rappelle qu'il a été mené en Egypte dans sa jeunesse par un grand officier, dont il semble être le client, et qu'il a été attaché au service du palais royal. Dans la suite il a porté constamment les armes pour le monarque dans le corps des auxiliaires, et il s'est signalé par de brillants exploits sous les yeux du même grand officier. Yatibiri porte et portera toujours le joug du Pharaon. Rien ne révèle ni les circonstances, ni l'intention particulière qui ont inspiré cette lettre d'une allure assez originale.

- 1. A-na Y šarri bil-ia
- 2. ilani-ia J Šamšani-ia
- 3. ki-bi-ma
- 4. um-m-a: Ia-bi-ti-ri ardu-ka,
- 5. ip-ri ša šipi-ka.
- 6. A-na šipi- šarri bil-ia
- 7. ilani-ia > Šamšani-ia VII-šu
- 8. u VII-it-ta-a-an am-ku-ut.
- 9. Ša-ni-tam, a-mur, a-na-ku ardi-ti
- 10. ša ki-it-ti šarri bil-ia.
- 11. Da-ag-la-ti ki-ia-am,
- 12. u da-ag-la-ti
- 13. ki-ia-am, u la-a
- 14. na-mi-ir; u da-ag-la-ti
- 15. a-na mu-uh-hi šarri bil-ia,
- 16. u na-mi-ir : u
- 17. ti-na-mu-šu labitu
- 18. \ la-bi-tu iš-tu
- 19. šu-pal tap-pa-ti-ši,
- 20. u a-na-ku la-a i-na-mu-šu
- 21. iš-tu šu-pal šipi
- 22. šar-ri bi-li-ia. U
- 23. i-ša-al šarri bi-li

24. | Ia-an-ḥa-ma Extra rabisa-šu.

25. I-nu-ma şihru a-na-ku, u

26. šu-ri-ba-ni a-na mat Mi-iș-ri

27. u ur-ra-at-ti šarri

28. bi-li-ia u iz-zi-iz-ti

29. i-na abulli šarri bi-li-ia;

30. u i-ša-al šarru bil-ia

31. Extra rabisa-šu i-nu-ma a-na-ku a-na-sa-ru

32. abulla - Az-za-ti u abulla

33. ►► II Ia-pu. U a-na-ku it-ti

34. șa-bi bi-ta-at šarri bi-li-ia;

35. a-šar ti-la-ku a-na-ku it-ti-šu-nu(?)...

36. u a-nu-ma u i-na-an(?)-na(?)...

37. it-ti(?)-šu-nu(?) a-na-ku

38. ► ni-ri \ hu-ul-lu šarri bil-ia a-na. . .

39. kišadi-ia u ub-ba-lu-šu.

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi mon maître, (2) mon dieu, mon Soleil, (3) il est parlé (4) en ces termes: Yatibiri ton serviteur, (5) la poussière de tes pieds. (6) Aux pieds du roi mon maître, (7) mon dieu, mon Soleil sept fois, (8) encore sept fois, je me prosterne.

(9) Vois, je suis le serviteur (10) fidèle du roi mon maître. (11) Que je porte mes regards d'un côté, (12) que je les porte (13) de l'autre, il n'y a point (14) de lumière [bonheur]; mais que je les porte (15) sur le roi mon maître, (16) il y a lumière: et (16-19) nne brique pourra bouger de dessous son four, (20) mais moi je ne bougerai pas (21) de dessous les pieds (22) du roi mon maître. Et (23) que le roi mon maître interroge [sur ma fidélité] (24) Yankhama on inspecteur. (25) Lorsque j'étais jeune, (26) il [Yankhama] m'introduisit au pays de Misri, (27) et je m'attachai au roi (28) mon maître, et je demeurai (29) à la porte du roi mon maître. (30) Que le roi mon maître demande (31) à son inspecteur comment moi j'ai gardé (32) la porte de Gaza et la porte (33) de Joppé. Moi je suis avec (34) les soldats auxiliaires du roi mon maître; (35) où ils vont, moi (je vais) avec eux, (36) et en ce moment même (37) je suis avec eux. (38) Le joug du roi mon maître est à (39) mon cou, et je le porterai.

#### REMARQUES.

Lignes 11, 13.—Ki-ia-am . . . . . . ki-ia-am, littéralement : d'une manière . . . . . . d'une autre manière.

Ligne 19.— Tappati vient d'une racine אפר. que l'on connaît par l'hébreu, et qui exprime l'idée de cuire.

Lignes 38, 39.—Il est probable qu'aucun caractère ne manque à la fin de la ligne 38, quoique endommagée, et qu'il faut simplement lire : a-naki-ša-di-ia.

#### HI.

#### ABI-SARRI AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

# (British Museum, 30.)

Abi-sarri, gouverneur de Tyr, voudrait se rendre auprès du roi d'Egypte, par lequel il semble avoir été appelé. Mais Tyr se trouve bloqué par Zimrida, gouverneur de Sidon, qui a reçu des secours d'Azirou, et à moins que le roi ne renforce la garnison de la ville, Abi-sarri ne peut quitter son poste. Il prie donc son suzerain de recevoir à sa place son messager. A la fin de la lettre, Abi sarri, conformément aux ordres du roi, lui donne des renseignements sur ce qui se passe au pays de Chanaan.

- I. A-na šarri Šamas-ia ilu-ia ilani-ia
- 2. um-ma: Y A-bi-šarri ardu-ka.
- 3. VII u VII a-na šipi šarri in-ni-ia am-kut.
- 4. A-na-ku ip-ru iš-tu šu-pa-li
- 5. šini ši-ni šarri in-ni-ia.
- 6. An-nu-u a-na-an-sur maḥaza šarri
- 7. ša ip-ki-id i-na ķa-ti-ia rabiš.
- 8. Pa-nu-ia a-na a-la-ki
- 9. a-na a-ma-ri pa-ni šarri bi-li-ia,
- 10. u la-a i-ni-i iš-tu.
- II. ka-ti \ Zi-im-ri-da Zi Zi-du-na (E).
- 12. Is-mi-ni-ma i-nu-ma
- 13. *i-ra-bu*, *u i-bu-uš*
- 14. nu-kur-tu it-ti-ia. Li-id-din-ni

V Lililia Vil-di
15. šarru bil-il-ia X amiluti a-na
16. na-ṣa-ri maḥaza šarri bi-li-ia,
17. u li-ru-ub a-na maḥ-ri
18. šarri bi-li-ia, da-ga-li
19. pa-ni-šu damķi. Ta-at-ta-din
20. pa-ni-ia a-na mi(?)-ru-ti 🕻 sa (?)-bu-ti
21. šarri in-ni-ia. Li-iš-al
22. šarru bi-li-ia E rabiṣa-šu:
23. i-nu-ma at-ta-din pa-ni-ia
24. a-na maḥ-ri-ti šarri bi-li-ia.
25. A nu-um-ma amil šipri-ri-ia(?)
26. uš-ši-ir-ti a-na
27. šarri bi-li-ia u
28. šarru(?) bi-li-ia amilu
29 dup-pa-šu a
30. u li-ru-ub a-na
31. šarri bil-il-ia-ma
32. It-ta-din pa-ni-ia
33. a-na maḥ-ri-ti a
34. pa-ni šarri in-ni-ia,
35. la-a i-ti-zi-ib
36. ardu-šu iš-tu ķa-ti
37. li-it-ta-din pa-ni
38. šarru bi-li-ia u it
39. mi a-na ši-it-ya-(ma)
40. u iși a-na ardi-šu
41. i-ti šarru bi-li i-nu-ma
42. i-na (\-(?)>\rightarrow\tanti ni-ta-sa-ab;
43. ia-nu mi u ia-nu iși
44. a-na ia-ši-nu. A-nu-um-ma
45. uš-ši-ir \ Ilu-milku amil šipri-ri
46. a-na maḥ-ri šarri bi-li-ia,
47. u at-ta-din V bilâti siparri
48. ≥ su-bu-ma, ištin ≥ ginazu \ gi-na-zu
49. Šarru bi-li-ia iš-ta-par a-na ia-ši(?)-ma(?):
50. ša ta-aš-mi iš-tu mat Ki-na-aḥ-na,
51. u šu-pur a-na ia-ši:
52. šar mat Da-nu-na mît,
53. u ša-ar-ra aḥu-šu
53. u sa-ar-ru uṇu-su 54. a-na arki-šu, u pa-aš-ḥa-at
54. <i>u-na urki-sa</i> , <i>u pu-us-na-ui</i>
300

- 55. matu-šu; u bit šar ► U-ga-ri-it ().
- 56. i-ku-ul i-ša-tum, mi-ši-il-šu
- 57. i-kul u mi-si-(il)-šu ia-nu;
- 58. u Ext Y sabi mat Ha-at-ti, ia-nu ;
- 59. Ĭ I-ta-ga-ma pa-pi(?)ri
- 60. ► Ki-id-ši u
- 61. Y A-zi-ra nu-kur-tum,
- 62. it-ti ¥ Nam-ia-pi(?)-za:
- 63. nu-kur-tum,
- 64 a-ta-tu, ha-ba-li.
- 65. Y Zi-im-ri-da,
- 66. i-nu-ma ip-hu-ur
- 67. ilapi şabi iš-tu mahazani ₹ A-zi-ra . . . . . .
- 68. a na muhhi-ia, u da-mi-ik 'i-nu-ma IV(?) u . . . .
- 69. şab imuki bi-li-ia u ip(?)-li-hu kab-bu. Li-id-din . . .
- 70. pa-ni-šu šarru a-na ar-di-šu u li-za-tu 🔪 i-za . . . . .

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi, mon Soleil, mon dieu, mes dieux, (2) en ces termes : Abi-sarri, ton serviteur. (3) Sept fois et sept fois, aux pieds du roi mon maître, je me prosterne. (4, 5) Je suis poussière de dessous (6) les chaussures du roi mon maître. (6, 7) Pour le moment je garderai avec grand soin la ville du roi, qu'il a confiée à ma main. (8) Mon dessein est d'aller (9) voir la face du roi mon maitre, (10) mais je ne puis me tirer des (11) mains de Zimrida, préfet de Zidouna. (12) Il a appris que (13) j'allais venir, et il a fait (14) la guerre contre moi. Qu'il me donne, (15) le roi mon maître, dex hommes pour (16) la garde de la ville du roi mon maître, (17) et que je vienne en présence (18) du roi mon maître, pour contempler (19) sa face bienfaisante. (19, 20) Mon dessein est de visiter (21) le roi mon maître. Qu'il interroge, (22) le roi mon maitre, son inspecteur, (23) [et qu'il sache] que mon dessein est d'aller (24) en présence du roi mon maître. (25, 26) Pour le moment, j'ai envoyé mon messager en (présence) (27) du roi mon maître, et (qu'il accueille), (28) le roi mon maître l'homme (messager), (29) . . . . . . . sa tablette . . . (30) et qu'il vienne [le messager] en (présence) (31) du roi mon maître. . . . . (32) Mon dessein est bien (33, 34) de me présenter (pour voir) la face du roi mon maitre, (mais) (35) il ne peut se dégager, (36) ton serviteur, de la main (de Zimrida).

(37, 38) Que le roi mon maître en prenne la résolution, et qu'il soit (fourni) (39) de l'eau pour ma boisson, (40) et du bois pour son serviteur. (41) Le roi sait que (nous), (42) nous sommes situés au bord(?) de la mer, (43, 44) et que nous n'avons ni eau, ni bois. Maintenant, (45) j'envoie Ilou-milkou, le messager, (46) en présence du roi mon maître, (47) et je donne cinq talents de cuivre, (48) du subu, et un ginasu. (49) Le roi mon maître m'a mandé: (50) Ce que tu apprendras concernant le pays de Chanaan, (51) mande-le moi. (52) Le roi du pays de Danouna est mort, (53) et son frère est devenu roi (54) après lui, (54, 55) et le pays est tranquille; et la maison(?) du roi d'Ugarit, (56) le feu l'a dévorée; (56, 57) il en a devoré une moitié et l'autre moitié, non. (58) Quant aux gens du pays de Khatti, rien. (59) Itamagapapiri (60) de la ville de Kidsou, et (61) Azirou, hostilité (62) avec Namyapiza: (63) hostilité, (64) ravages, destruction. (65) Zimrida, (66) après avoir rassemblé (67) des vaisseaux et des soldats des villes d'Azirou, (a marché) (68) contre moi, et bonne fortune si (je reçois) (69) des soldats de mon maître : ils seront tous effrayés(?). (69, 70) Que le roi tourne ses regards vers son serviteur, et que . . . . .

#### REMARQUES.

Ligne 15.—Dix hommes. On est souvent frappé dans nos lettres du nombre insignifiant de soldats auxiliaires, dix, vingt, trente, que les chefs syro-palestiniens demandent pour la garde de leurs villes. Sans doute qu'ils parlent ainsi par litote; ils demandent, comme nous dirions, une poignée d'hommes.

Ligne 42.—( Ce groupe cache probablement un mot qui caractérise la situation de Tyr dans son île rocheuse au bord de la mer.

Ligne 48.—Gi-na-zu. L'idéogramme ( , ainsi transcrit dans le texte original, exprime en assyrien le mot kiššatu, pour kinšatu. D'après cela, gi-na-zu doit être une expression incorrecte pour kinašu.

Nous avons fait observer plus d'une fois que les scribes syropalestiniens confondent souvent dans l'écriture les consonnes de même organe.

Ligne 58.—La phrase qui forme cette ligne signifie, je crois, qu'Abi-sarri n'a recueilli aucun renseignement sur les gens de Khatti

#### IV.

#### AB-SARRI AU ROI D'EGYPTE

## (British Museum, 28.)

Après s'être plaint de l'indifférence du roi, qui ne répond pas à ses communications, Abi-sarri expose avec plus de détail que dans la lettre précédente, la même situation qui lui est faite par les chefs voisins: il montre les flottilles de plusieurs villes phéniciennes réunies contre lui. Il semble dire que la ville de Zoumour a été livré naguère à Azirou, sur un faux message du roi, apporté par Zimrida.

- 1. A-na Šarri in-ni-ia Šamši-ia ilani-ia
- 2. um-ma: Y A-bi-šarri ardu-ka.
- 3. VII u VI a-na šipi šarri bi-ili am-kut.
- 4. A-na-ku ip-ru iš-tu šu-pa-al šipi
- 5. šini ši-ni šarri bi-li-ia.
- 6. Šarru bi-li-ia, ki-i-ma Šamšu,
- 7. ki-ma Addu i-na ša-mi at-ta.
- 8. li-im-li-ik šarru a-na ardi-šu.
- 9. Šarru bi-li-ia ip-ki-id-ni
- 10. a-na-ṣa-ar ► Sur-ri amat šarri;
- II. u aš-ta-par dup-pa, u-mu-da
- 12. a-na šarri in-ni-ia, u la-a
- 13. it-ti-ir a-ma-tam q-na ia-ši.
- 14. A-na-ku Em rabişu šarri bi-li-ia,
- 15. u a-na-ku ša u-bal a-ma-tam
- 16. taba u a-na a-ma-(tam) li-im-na
- 17. a-na šarri bi-li-ia. Li-ma-aš-šir
- 18. šarru XX amil imuki, a-na-ṣa-ar
- 19. mahaza-šu, u li-ru-ub a-na muh-hi
- 20. šarri bi-li-ia, u li-mur pa-ni-šu.
- 21. Ma-an-nu ba-la-at amil imuki,
- 22. í-nu-ma la-a it-ta-zi
- 23. ša-a-ru iš-tu 💢 → pi šarri bi-li-šu,
- 24. u ba-li-it šum-ma šarru iš-ta-par
- 25. a-na ardi-šu, u ba-li-it
- 26. a-na da-ri-ti a-na-ku.

27 ša il-ti-ga-ti-ma
28 a-na i-ri-bi
29 (da)-ga-li pa-ni šarri bi-li-ia
30
31
32 ki šarru bi-li-ia
33 ši-ri-ib-ka
34 ma bi-li
35
36 (Arad)-aš-ra-tum
37 (a)r-ni šarri ∤ Ḥa-a-bi
38 í-li sa(?)-ri Ext mar sipri-ri
39 it-ta-din ➤≒∭ Ṣu-mu-ra
40. a-na Y A-zi-ra, u la-a
41. i-ku-ul šarru iš-tu maḥazi-šu(u)
42. iš-tu mat-ti-šu. I-nu-ma aš-ti-mu
43. šu-um šarri u šu-um um-ma-ni-šu,
44. u pal-hu rabiš u kab-bi
45. mat-tipal-ḥa-at, u ša-a la-a
46. i-la-ak a-na arki šarri bi-li-ia
47. šarru i-ti. Šu-um-ma ša-ak-na-ta-ni
48. i-na Em rabisi i-na - Sy Sur-ri,
49. il-gi \ Zi-im-ri-da → Y Sa-zu,
50. iš-tu ardu-ti i-ta-zi-ib-šu;
51. u ia-nu mi, ia-nu iși a-na ia-ši-nu ;
52. u ia-nu a-ia-ka-mi ni-iš-kan
53. Ext pagar. U šarru bi-li-ia
54. li-im-li-ik a-na ardi-šu. Šarru bi-li-ia
55. i-na dup-pi iš-ta-par a-na ia-ši:
56. mi-nu-um-mi ta-aš-ti-mi, u šu-pur
57. a-na šarri.   Zi-im-ri-da ša >=   Zi-du-na,
58. u \ A-zi-ra amil ar-ni šarri,
59. u amilut ► Y Ar-va-da it-mu-ni,
60. u iš-ta-ni ma-mi-ta i-na bi-ri-šu-nu
61. u ip-hu-ru-nim ilapi-šu-nu
62. 🗲 narkabâti-šu-nu şabi îmuki-šu-nu
63. a-na şa-ta-ti > Sur-ri amat šarri.
64. Ga-aš-ta-at ķa-ti šarri da-an-na-tum

- 65. u da-ga-at-šu-nu ➤ ↑ Şur-ri
  66. la-a i-ni-u-nim a-na ṣa-bat.
  67. U ➤ ↑ Su-mu-ra ṣa-ab-du-nim
  68. i-na ➤ ↑ pi ↑ Zi-im-ri-da
  69. ša u-ba-lam a-ma-tam šarri
  70. a-na ↑ A-zi-ra. U aš-ta-par
  71. dup-pa a-na šarri bi-li-ia,
  72. u la-a it-ti-ir-ni
  73. a-ma-tam a-na ardi-šu.
- 74. Iš-tu mu-ga-ti nu-kur-tum 75. i-na muh-hi-ia, ia-nu mî
- 75. i-na muṇ-ṇi-ra, ia-nu mi 76. ia-nu iṣi. Li-ma-aš-sir
- 77. dup-pa a-na ardi-šu,
- 78. u li-ru-ub u li-mur pa-ni-šu u šarru . . . . . . .
- 79. a-na ardi-šu a-na maḥazi-šu, u la-a . . . . .
- 80. maḥazu-šu matu-šu; am-mi-nim i-nam-mu.....
  81. šarru bi-li-nu iš-tu mat-ti u i-ti.....
- 82. u i-ti ša-a-i-ru-it šarru ša ia-nu. A-nu-um-(ma)
- 83. dup-pi-ia amil imuki a-na muḥ-ḥi šarri > Šamši bil-(ia) . . . . .
- 84. u šarru li-it-ti-ir a-na ardi-šu.

## TRADUCTION.

- (1) Au roi mon maître, mon dieu Soleil, mon dieu, (2) en ces termes: Abi-sarri ton serviteur. (3) Sept fois, encore sept fois, aux pieds du roi seigneur, je me prosterne. (4) Je suis poussière de dessous les pieds (5) [et] les chaussures du roi mon maître. (6) "O roi seigneur, comme le dieu Soleil, (7) comme le dieu Addou, [ainsi] es-tu dans le ciel.
- (8) Que le roi prenne des mesures en faveur de son serviteur.
  (9) Le roi mon maître m'a établi (10) pour que je garde la ville de Tyr, sa servante; (11) cependant j'ai envoyé une tablette, j'ai donné des renseignements (?) (12) au roi mon maître, (12, 13) et il ne m'a pas rendu de réponse. (14) Moi, je suis gouverneur du roi, (15) et je le suis pour faire parvenir nouvelle (16) bonne et nouvelle mauvaise, (17) au roi mon maître. Qu'il envoie (18), le roi, vingt soldats, j'assurerai la garde (19) de sa ville, et puissé-je venir (20) chez le roi mon maître, et voir sa face. (21) Quel soldat vit (22) losqu'il ne sort pas (23) d'ordre de la bouche du roi son maître?

(24) Il vit lorsque le roi mande ses ordres (25) à son serviteur, (25, 26) et moi [alors] je vis à jamais.

(27) que j'ai pris (28) pour venir	
voir la face du roi mon maître, (30)	
(31) répondit. (32) roi mon ma	aître.
(33) te faire parvenir (34) seig	neur
(35) (Arad	)-As-
ratou (37) révolté contre le roi, K	habi.
(38) (Si) un messager s'y était rendu, (39) Zoumour (n')eût (pas	) été
livré à Azirou, (40, 41) et le roi n'eût pas été privé d'une ville à l	ui et
(42) d'un territoire à lui. Lorsqu'on entend (43) le nom du roi	et le
nom de son armée, (44) on éprouve une grande crainte, et (45)	tout
le pays est effrayé, (45, 46) et celui qui ne se met pas à la suite d	u roi
mon maître, (47) le roi le connaît.	

Lorsque tu m'établis (48) comme gouverneur de Tyr, (49) Zimrida s'empara de la ville de Sazu, (50) et la sépara de [mon] obédience. (51) Et nous n'avons plus [en conséquence] ni eau, ni bois; (52) nous n'avons plus ou déposer (53) les morts. Que le roi mon maître (54) subvienne en faveur de son serviteur.

Le roi moi maître (55) m'a mandé par tablette: (56) Tout ce que tu entendras, mande-le (57) au roi. Zimrida de Zidouna, (58) et Azirou, sujet rebelle du roi, (59) et les gens de la ville d'Arvada ont juré, (60) et ils ont échangé leurs serments entre eux, (61) et ils ont [en conséquence] rassemblé leurs vaisseaux, (62) leurs chars et leurs soldats, (63) pour prendre Tyr, la servante du roi. (64) Que la main puissante du roi intervienne (65, 66) et leur troupe n'osera s'emparer du Tyr. (67) Aussi bien ont-ils pris la ville de Zoumour (68) sur la parole dede Zimrida, (69) qui a apporte un [faux] message du roi (70) à Azirou. J'avais envoyé [à cette occasion] (71) une tablette au roi mon maître, (72) et il n'avait pas rendu (73) réponse à son serviteur. (74) A cause de la présence des ennemis (75) auprès de moi, il n'y a plus d'eau (76) il n'y a plus de bois. Qu'il envoie (77) une tablette à son serviteur, (78) et que celui-ci vienne et voie sa face, et le roi . . . . . (79) à son serviteur et à sa ville, et ne pas . . . . . (80) sa ville et son pays. Pourquoi . . . . . . . . . (81) le roi notre maître du pays . . . . et il sait . . . . . (82) et il sait qu'il n'y a pas de . . . . . Maintenant (83) un soldat porte ma tablette au roi mon maître, mon dieu Soleil (84) et que le roi réponde à son serviteur.

#### REMARQUES.

Ligne בודע –U-mu-da, ou bien u-wu-da, piel de widu, בירע =

Ligne 82.—Ša-i-ru-it, pour ša-i-ri-it.

#### V.

#### Abi-sarri au roi d'Egypte.

# (British Museum, 31.)

Abi-sarri recommande à la bienveillance du roi, Tyr, la ville de Salmayati, et lui-même, le serviteur de Salmayati. Salmayati, précédé du clou vertical, déterminatif des noms d'hommes, désigne apparemment un chef tyrien qui s'était distingué au service du roi d'Egypte, et sous le commandement duquel Abi-sarri s'était lui-même trouvé jadis.—Abi-sarri se plaint de ce que les ordres donnés en sa faveur par le roi n'ont pas reçu leur exécution, ce qui fait qu'il est toujours bloqué. Il proteste de sa bonne conduite, qui contraste avec celle de ses voisins.

1.	A-na šarri → · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
2.	um-ma: A-bi-šarri
3.	VII u VII a-na šipi
4.	A-na-ku ip-ru iš-tu
5.	šu-pa-li šini ši-ni
6.	u šarru, - Šamaš da-ri-(tum).
7.	Šarru ik-bi a-na ardi-šu
8.	a-na arad Šal-ma-ia-a-ti,
9.	a-na na-da-ni ši-bu u a-na
0.	mi 🐧 mi-ma a-na ši-ti-šu.
Ι.	U la-a i-bu-uš-šu-nim
2.	ki-ma ķa-bi šarru bi-li-ia,
3.	la-a i-na-an-din-nu-nim.
4.	U li-im-li-ik šarru
5.	a-na arad ¶ Šal-ma-ia-a-ti,
6.	a-na na-da-ni mi
7.	aš-šum ba-la-ti-šu. Ša-ni-tam,

18.	bi-lišarru, í-nu-ma ia-nu
19.	iși-ia, mi ia-nu, in-nu
	ru ia-nu, ša-mu
21.	li-ti šarru bi-li,
22.	Šal-ma-ia-a-ti
	ba-la-ti a-na šašu
24.	(t) a-din
25.	
	ti
28.	(U la-a) id-din-nu-nim
29.	
	u li-ti šarru a-na ardi-šu
	u a-na -= [] Sur-ri
	ma-ḥaz Ŭ Šal-ma-ia-a-ti.
	U ša it-ta-zi a-ma-tam
	iš-tu ➡ pi šarri
35.	a-na ardi-šu ša i-bu-uš
36.	
37.	
38.	U a-na ardi-šu ki-it-ti
39.	Šarru bi-li-ia
40.	a-na na(?)-ṣa(?)-ri maḥaz \ Šal-ma-ia-a-ti
41.	bi- $ti$ - $ia$ . $A$ - $nu$ - $um(?)$ - $ma(?)$ $bi$ .
42.	Ša-ni-tam bi-li(?)
43.	ṣabi muḥ-ḥi-ia la,
44.	a-na ir-ṣi-ti šarri(?)
45.	í-nu-ma ru ša um(?)
46.	šarru bi-li-ia u i-ga-ru
	i-na ir-zi-ti, u
	šarru bi-li-ia lib-bi kab-bi(?)
	mat-ti i-ti, u li-id-(din)
	pa-ni-šu šarru a-na ar-di-šu(?),
-	u -= Sur-ri
-	maḥaz ¶ Šal-ma-ia-a-ti
	a-na na-da-ní (iṣi),
	a-na mi a-na ba-(la-ti)
	Ša-ni-tam bi-li
56.	(li)-iš-al šarru Fixt rabișa: i-nu-ma
	ET 4

#### TRADUCTION.

(1) Au roi . . . . . (2) en ces termes: Abi-sarri . . . . (3) Sept fois, encore sept fois aux pieds . . . . . . . (4) Je suis poussière de (5) dessous les chaussures . . . . . . (6) et le roi est le dieu Soleil pour toujours. (7) Le roi a parlé en faveur de son serviteur . . . , (8) en faveur du serviteur de Salmayati, (9) pour qu'on lui donne du bois et pour (qu'on lui donne) (10) de l'eau à boire. (11) Et on n'a pas agi (12) conformément à l'ordre du roi mon maître; (13) on n'a rien donné. (14) Que le roi prenne donc des mesures (15) en faveur du serviteur de Salmayati, (16) afin qu'on lui donne de l'eau (17) pour vivre. De plus, (18, 19), ô seigneur roi, comme je n'ai pas de bois, pas d'eau, pas de innu [orge?] (20) . . . . . . . pas de  $\check{s}amu$ , (21) . . . . . . . que le roi mon maître sache (22) . . . . . . . (le serviteur de) Salmayati (23) . . . . . . . vie pour lui. (24) . . . . . . . . . . . . qu'on lui donne (25) . . . . . . . . . . pour boire. . . . (28) Et on n'a pas donné (29) . . . . suivant l'ordre du roi (mon maître). (30) Que le roi en prenne connaissance en faveur de son serviteur, (31) et de Tyr, (32) la ville de Salmayati. (33) Puisqu'un ordre est sorti (34) de la bouche du roi (35) à l'adresse de son serviteur pour qu'il l'exécute, (35, 36) je m'applique à exécuter (?) l'ordre excellent du roi, (37) du roi, dieu Soleil perpétuel. (38) A son serviteur fidèle, (39) le roi mon maître (a ordonné) (40) de garder la ville de Salmayati (41) ma demeure. Maintenant . . . . . . . . (42) De plus, . . . . . . . . . . . . . (43) soldats contre (?) moi . . . . . . (44) pour le pays . . . . . . . . (45) puisque . . . .... (46) le roi mon maître, et la campagne (47) dans le pays. Et (48, 49) le roi mon maître connaît les sentiments (?) de tout le pays; qu'il tourne (50) sa face vers son serviteur (51) et la ville de Tyr, (52) la ville de Salmayati, (53) pour qu'on donne (du bois), (54) pour qu'on lui donne de l'eau pour vivre. (55) De plus, le seigneur (roi) . . . . . . . (56) Que le roi interroge son inspecteur [sur ceci]: lorsque (l'inspecteur se rendit) (57) à Zoumour,

le préfet de . . . (58) (n')alla (point au devant de lui), et le préfet de Zidouna . . . . . (59) (n'y) alla point, et moi, j'y allai avec tout . . . . tout . . . . (60) Que le roi donc prenne des mesures en faveur de son serviteur, (61) et il gardera . . . . . . .

#### REMARQUES.

Ligne 5.—Le signe [17], qui a entre autres valeurs celle de mašku, peau, cuir, est ici l'idéogramme šinu, transcrit immédiatement après en ses syllabes ši-nu, ou bien c'est un déterminatif aphone du même mot. Ce luxe graphique inutile est omis, dans le même contexte (Brit. Mus., 29, l. 5).

Ligne 14.—Li-im-li-ik. Le verbe malaku ne peut avoir ici le sens de conseiller. Il signifie pourvoir a, sens qui convient aux autres passages où il se rencontre.

#### VI.

#### ABI-SARRI AU ROI D'EGYPTE.

# (British Museum, 29.)

Cette lettre est remplie de l'éloge dithyrambique du roi d'Egypte. C'est la reconnaissance, sincère ou affectée, qui inspire Abi-sarri, lequel vient d'être honoié par le roi d'un message favorable et d'une distinction qui lui donne rang parmi les hauts officiers. En même temps, Abi-sarri a été délivré, par l'intervention du roi, des difficultés contre lesquelles il luttait. Néanmoins Abi-sarri regrette toujours de ne pouvoir aller en Egypte. Il termine en attirant l'attention du roi sur les intrigues de Zimrida et d'Azirou.

- 1. A-na šarri in-ni-ia ilani-ia 🕌 Šamši-ia,
- 2. um-ma: ₹ A-bi-šarri ardu-ka.
- 3. VII u VII a-na šipi šarri in-ni-ia am-kut.
- 4. A-na-ku ip-ru iš-tu su-pa-li
- 5. ši-ni šarri in-ni-ia, bi-li,
- 6. -- Šamši ša it-ta-zi i-na muḥ-ḥi
- 7. mat ma-ta-ti ina um-mi u um-mi-ma
- 8. ķi-ma ši-ma-at 🕌 Šamšu a-bu-šu damķu,
- 9. ša i-ba-li-it i-na ši-hi-šu tabi,

- 10. u i-șa-hir i-na șa-pa-ni-šu;
- II. ša it-ta-sa-ab kah-bi mat-ti
- 12. i-na pa-ša-ḥi, i-na kin-ni ašariduti 🕻 ḥa-ab-ši;
- 13. ša id-din ri-ig-ma-šu i-na sa-mi
- 14. ki-ma Addu, u (tar)-ku-ub kab-bi
- 15. mat-ti iš-tu ri-ig-mi-šu.
- 16. An-nu-u iš-pu-ur ardu-du a-na bi-li-šu
- 17. í-nu-ma iš-mi mar šipri-ri damķi
- 18. ša šarru, ša i-ga-ša-ad a-na ardi-šu
- 19. u ši-hu tabu ša it-ta-zi
- 20. iš-tu Arpi | sarri bi-li-ia
- 21. a-na ardi-šu u i-za-hir ši-hu-šu.
- 22. La-am ga-ša-ad amil šipri-ri šarri bi-li-ia,
- 23. la-a i-za-hir ši-hu, i-za-gir
- 24. appi ap-pi-ia. A-mur, i-na-an-na
- 25. i-nu-ma it-ta-zi
- 26. ši-hu šarri a-na muh-hi-ia,
- 27. u ha-ad-ia-ti rabiš
- 28. umišam (?), 🕻 a-ru-u i-na um-mi u um-mi-ma.
- 29. Aš-šum ḥa-ti-ia-ti, la-a ti . . . . .
- 30. ir-zi-tum. I-nu-ma iš-mi
- 31. mar šipri-ri damķi ša iš-tu bi-li-ia,
- 32. u kab-bi mat-ti pal-ḥa-at
- 33. iš-tu pa-ni bi-li-ia. I-nu-ma
- 34. iš-mi ši-hu tabu u mar sipri-ri damķi
- 35. ša i-gu-ša-ta-ni, í-nu-ma
- 36. ik-bi Šarru bi-li-ia 🐧 ku-na
- 37. a-na pa-ni sabi rabuti, u ik-bi
- 38. ardu-du a-na bi-li-šu 🏅 ia-a-ia-ia
- 39. a-na muḥ-ḥi ga-bi-ti-ia muḥ-ḥi 🐧 zu-ri-ia
- 40. u-bal a-ma-tam šarru bi-li-ia.
- 41. Ša iš-mi a-na šarri bi-li-su u
- 42. u-ra-ad-šu i-na aš-ra-ni-šu,
- 43. u it-zi Šamšu i-na muḥ-ḥi-šu,
- 44. u i-za-hir ši-hu tabu iš-tu 🖂 r pi bi-li-šu,
- 45. u la-a iš-ti-mi a-ma-tam šarri bi-li-šu,
- 46. hal-ga-at ma-hazu-šu ha-li-ik bitu-šu,
- 47. ia-nu šu-um-šu i-na kab-bi
- 48. mat-ti i-na da-ri-ti. A-mur

- 49. arda-da ša iš-mi a-na bi-li-šu,
- 50. tar-mu maḥazu-šu tar-mu bitu-šu,
- 51. šu-um-šu a-na da-ri-ti.
- 52. At-ta 🕌 Šamšu ša it-ta-zi i-na muḥ-ḥi-ia,
- 53. u du-u-ri siparri ša is-ku-bu
- 54. a-na ša-a-šu; u aš-šum ašaridut sarri
- 55. bi-li-ia da-na-ti
- 56. \ nu-ug-ti \ ba-ti-i-ti.
- 57. An-nu-u ik-bi
- 58. a-na Šamši A-bi-šarri: bi-li-ia
- 59. ma-ti-mi i-mur
- 60. pa-ni šarri bi-li-ia?
- 61. U a-nu-um-ma a-na-an-sur
- 62. > Sur-ri mahazu ra-bi-tu
- 63. a-na šarri bi-li-ia; şa(?)-lam(?)
- 64. i-pi-zi ašaridut šarru da-na-tu i-na muḥ-ḥi-ia,
- 65. a-na na-da-an mi-í a-na šu-ta-ia
- 66. u iși a-na šu-hu-ni-ia. Ša-ni-tam ₹ Zi-im-ri-da
- 67. bil → Zi-du-na iš-pu-ur ina um-mi u um-mi-ma
- 69. aš-šum kab-bi a-ma-tam ša iš-ti-mi iš-tu mat Mi-iṣ-ri.
- 70. A-nu-um-ma iš-pu-ur a-na bi-li-ia, u damķu
- 71. í-nu-ma i-ti.

#### TRADUCTION.

- (1) Au roi, mon maître, mon dieu, mon dieu Soleil, (2) en ces termes: Abi-sarri, ton serviteur. (3) Sept fois, encore sept fois, aux pieds du roi mon maître, je me prosterne. (4) Je suis poussière de dessous (5) les chaussures du roi, mon maître, mon seigneur, (6) du dieu Soleil qui se lève sur (7) les régions tous les jours, (8) suivant la disposition du dieu Soleil, son père bienfaisant; (9) par les paroles propices duquel on vit, (10) et par les doux discours duquel on se ranime; (11) qui établit tous les pays (12) dans le repos par la force de son autorité; (13) qui fait entendre son tonnerre dans le ciel (14) comme le dieu Addou, (14, 15) et toute la terre tremble par l'effet de son tonnerre.
- (16) Maintenant le serviteur envoie message à son maître, (17) après avoir entendu le porteur du message propice (18) de la part du roi, qui est parvenu à son serviteur, (19) et la bonne parole qui est sortie (20) de la bouche du roi mon maître (21) à l'adresse

de son serviteur, et après que sa parole [l']a reconforté. (22) Si le messager du roi mon maître n'était pas arrivé (23) et que cette parole ne [m']eût pas reconforté, (23, 24) mon visage se serait contracte. Vois, maintenant (25) qu'est sortie (26) la parole du roi à mon adresse, (27) je me suis grandement réjoui (28) chaque jour (?), j'ai éprouvé du contentement tous les jours. (29) Parce que je me réjouissais, ne pas . . . . . . (30) la terre. Lorsqu'il eut entendu (31) le porteur du message propice venant de mon maître, (32) tout le pays fut saisi de la crainte (33) du roi mon maître. Lorsque (34) j'eus entendu la bonne parole et le porteur du message propice (35) qui m'est parvenu, lorsque (36) le roi mon maître m'eût dit [par la bouche de son messager]: Prends place (37) en présence des grands officiers, alors (38, 39) le serviteur répondit à son maître : Yâyaya! (39) sur mon dos, sur mes bras, (40) je porterai le commandement du roi mon maître. (41) Celui qui obéit au roi son maître (42) et s'attache à lui par son amour, (43) le dieu Soleil [le roi] se lève sur lui, (44) et une bonne parole sortie de la bouche de son maître [le] ranime; (45) n'écoute-il pas l'ordre du roi son maître, (46) sa ville périt, sa maison périt, (47) son nom n'existe plus en aucun (48) pays, à jamais. (49) Le serviteur qui obéit à son maître, (50) sa ville est fondée, sa maison est fondée, (51) son nom se maintient à jamais. (52) Tu es le dieu Soleil qui se lève sur moi, (53, 54) et le rempart d'airain contre lequel on se brise (?); par l'autorité du roi (55) mon maître, [j'ai] puissance, (56) contentement, délivrance (?)

(57, 58) Maintenant Abi-sarri dit au dieu Soleil: Mon seigneur, (59) quand verrai-je (60) la face du roi mon maître? (61) Pour le moment, je garderai (62) Tyr, la grande ville, (63) pour le roi mon maître; (63, 64) l'autorité du roi mon maître a étendu son ombre [protection] sur moi, (65) afin qu'en me donne de l'eau pour ma soif, (66) et de l'eau pour mon chauffage.

Enfin Zimrida (67) préfet de Zidouna, envoie journellement message (68) au rebelle Azirou, fils d'Arad-Asratou, (69) pour toute nouvelle qu'il entend du pays de Misri. (70) Je le mande donc à mon maître, car il est bon (71) qu'il le sache.

## REMARQUES.

Ligne 8.—Le dieu Soleil ici n'est pas le roi d'Egypte, mais le vrai soleil.

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Ligne 9.—Šiḥu, à rapprocher de l'hébreu ḥ dans le sens de parole, discours.

Ligne 10.— Sapani, pluriel de sapu, d'une racine soup, (=בּבּפּרָּ?). On voit par le rapprochement de lignes 10 et 23 que sapu et sihu sont synonymes.

Ligne 12.—Le signe (est susceptible de la lecture ašariaut (Brunnow, 6468), puissance, autorité. Le nom exprimé par ce signe, énonce dans tous les cas, d'aprés la ligne 54, une qualité ou un attribut du roi.—Habši me semble être une glose chananéenne expliquant ašaridut. On se rappellera l'hébreu (con dominer, gouverner (Job, xxxiv, 17; Isaïe, iii, 7).

Ligne 14.—(*Tar*)-ku-ub, les vestiges du premier signe indiquent

A comparer avec l'araméen רָבָּר, trembler.

Ligne 56.—Nugti, cf. Strassmaier, 6396, nu-ug lib-bi.—Ba-ti-i-ti, plus correctement pa-di-i-ti?



# A PECULIARLY SACRED POSTURE AVOIDED IN ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

REV. CAMDEN M. COBERN, Ph.D.

The writer, a few winters ago, while in the Ghizeh Museum, made the observation that the typically sacred posture of the uplifted empty hands, which was used in innumerable instances where men appeared before the divinities, was carefully avoided in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and very rarely used in the New Kingdom, when they appeared before their ancestors.

This observation was afterwards confirmed by a visit to the British Museum and the Louvre, and by an examination of the plates of Rosellini, Lepsius, &c.

That this posture was a peculiarly sacred one is proved by its use from the very earliest times in the hieroglyphic "to worship." Thus also the gods adored the supreme divinity:—

"Hail to thee, Râ... thy mother Nut presents her hands to thee in the act of homage." [Ani Papyrus, Plate I.]

This attitude is of all others the most common one taken by the worshipper when he enters the presence of his god; yet almost universally is it avoided when the relatives gather to reverence their ancestors.

It cannot be denied that there are a few exceptions to the general practice, but in almost every case the exception proves the rule.

Hate... and Kheti do stand in the sacred posture before Usertesen and Mes-en-hotep, who are figured as little creatures standing on top of the table of offerings; but the inscription is one distinctly addressed to Osiris and Anubis. (Louvre, C. 19.)

Another significant exception is that of Khent-Khat-ur, who stands before his ancestors in this sacred posture; but stands with his face turned from them and his hands uplifted—towards the unseen. [Plate 109, Eg. Inscrips. British Museum, London, 1837.]

There can be no doubt that this habit was too universal to allow the possibility of its being accidental. That there was one special attitude saved for the deity proves how greatly elevated were the gods above the deceased, and would seem to have some bearing upon the theory of the origin and meaning of Ancestor Worship which is now generally accepted.

#### THE VIZIERS OF THE NEW EMPIRE.

By Dr. W. Spiegelberg.

Kurt Sethe\* has drawn up a list of names of the viziers of the Old Empire, and in connexion with it a history of this office; this work has to be done yet for the New Empire, and I should like to make a beginning at least in the following to close this palpable gap. The subjoined list, which gives besides the names only an abbreviated reference to the respective sources and also, as far as possible, the degree of kindred of the officials, is divided into two parts. In the first I have put together the viziers whose time of office could be established with certainty,† in the second I put in alphabetic order those whose dates I did not succeed in fixing exactly. I do not assert that this list has any pretension to completeness in spite of the care bestowed upon the perusal of the material appertaining to it. However, I trust that even in its present state it may be of good service especially for the fixing of dates.

## I.—XVIIIth Dynasty.

2. 
$$\Lambda = \begin{bmatrix} 1 & 1 \\ 1 & 1 \end{bmatrix}$$
, Grébaut: Musée de Boulaq, T. XVI.

3. L.D., III, 25, bis o (cf. Griffith: "Notes on a Tour," Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1889, p. 103). Virey: Tombeau de Rechmara, Pl. III.

Thutmosis III.

<sup>\*</sup> A.Z., 1890. 43 fol.

<sup>†</sup> The fixing of dates of the viziers is given according to the Pharaohs in the sense that the respective governor officiated under the rule of the king quoted in the margin without precise limitation, *i.e.*, it not being excluded that he was already acting under the predecessor or successor.

<sup>#</sup> About A A Materialien,

- 4. Son of the preceding. Virey: Tombeau de Rechmara. Louvre: Stèle 74 (Lieblein: Dict., p. 914). Louvre: Salle hist., No. 368 (cf. Brugsch: Dict., V, p. 393). Louvre: Pap. 3326 (published by Brugsch: Thesaurus, p. 1079).
- 5. Mariette: Karnak, 32 g. Pierret: Rec. II/24 c. Ä.Z., 1883, p. 133. Pleyte-Rossi: Pap. Turin, I/3 (?).
- 6. Lieblein: p. 608, 657. Berlin: Palette 3427. Schiaparelli: Catal., p. 1570 (cf. ib., p. 205).
- 7. , see the literature in Schiaparelli: Catal., p. 197. I cite beside, Devéria: Musée de Lyon, Stèle 88. Mariette: Catalogue d'Abydos, p. 408. Amenophis III.
  - 8. Inscr. in the hieratic character, 29/2.
  - 9. , L.D., III, p. 114 h. Ay (?).

## II.—XIXth Dynasty.

- p. 520-525, 846-847. Dümichen: H. I., II/41. Champ.: Mon. II/pl. 170, 1. L.: D., III, 132 n-r). Leemans: Monum. v. Leyden, II/44. Statue Wilbour.\* Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1886, p. 230. Catalogue, Alnwick Castle, p. 72. Pierret: Rec., II/85, and a number of antiquities with his name in the Museum of Berlin and the Louvre.

  Sety I-Rameses II.
- 11. ,† Mariette: Abydos, II/41. Mariette: Catalogue d'Abydos, p. 1160 (dated of the 42nd year). Louvre: A 66 (Pierret, Rec., 1/5).‡ Rameses II.
- 12. Signature (12. Rec., I, 83/2. Brugsch: Thesaurus, p. 1128.\*
- \* Found near Tell el-Robb. I do not know the reason for a distinction between a of the reign of Sety I—Rameses II and that of Amenophis III-IV. According to my opinion the two supposed viziers are identical.
- † This vizier is not to be confounded with the below named Re-htp without the article.
- ‡ In the curious orthography transcription of the hieratic text.

13. † C , Sharpe: *Inscr.*, I/103. Lieblein: *Dict.*, p. 886, 1068. Berlin: *Catal.*, p. 220, 2290 (286). *Rec.*, X/131.

Mr-n-ptb.

15. Pap. Bologna 1086, II/2.

16. 16. 17. Mariette : Karnak, 46/12. Sety II.

#### XXth Dynasty.

17. Sources, p. 271 (= Brugsch: Thesaurus, p. 1129). Ostracon Caillaud: (published by Chabas: Voyage). Pap. Turin, 44/18. Ostracon: Louvre, p. 696 (published by Maspero). Mission: III/183. § Recueil, XV, p. 68.

Rameses III.

18. † \* | C | Pap. Turin, 49/3, 58/12.|| Rameses IV.

19. Of San Fig. Pap. Abbott, 4/15, 8/A. 20. Pap. Mayer (Liverpool) A, 1/6. Rameses IX.

20. Sa/A, 3, 90/1. Pap. Turin (ed. Chabas-Lieblein), 3/7 (sic).

Rameses IX-Rameses X.

21. Rec., XIII/173. Pap. Turin, 61/I, 6.

Rameses X.

\* Four inscriptions dated of the year 44 + x (i.e., 44, 45, or 46) of the reign of Rameses II.

† Dated ( DIIII ) | Dated | Da

‡ From the last passage it follows that the vizier yet officiated under the reign of Sety II.

§ See Recueil XV, p. 68. || See Ä. Z., 91/83.

#### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE UNDATED VIZIERS.

- 22. Thesaurus, p. 1216 gg)
  A.Z., 1883, p. 131.
- 23. Son of a Governor. Mariette: Karnak, 46/11. Mariette: Abydos, p. 439 (Rec., IV/105). Petrie: Season, XXII/60. Wiedemann: Grabkegel, 6.
- 24. Pap. Brit. Museum 10054, 1/3, his tomb is mentioned. Accordingly to his title he is to be counted amongst the New Empire.
  - 25. A O D O Pap. Salt, 1/3.
- 26. Abydos, II/56 (=de Rougé, I.H., 47). Pap. Rollin, 1882, 2/4, 2.
- 28. O O O, Lieblein: p. 997. Mariette: Catalogue d'Abydos, p. 1138. Brugsch: Thesaurus, p. 950.
  - 29. A Petrie: Season, XXII/62. Prisse: Mon., pl. 27.
- 30. Pierret: Rec. d'Inscr., II/58. Rec., XII, p. 18 (=Lieblein p. 975). Perhaps are identical with him.
- a. , Stele Berlin 8169 (published in Brugsch: Thesaurus, p. 811).
  - b. (?) , Mémoires de la Mission, III, 185.\*
- \* Over the hieratic signs, which may be easily read , is written the above hieroglyphic group.

#### POSTSCRIPTUM.

In the following lines I take the liberty of appending some necessary additions. Concerning the reign of Rameses II, there is to be supplied the vizier of the well known statue of Tanis, whose father of the pharaon named. So we have five viziers at least under the reign of Rameses II, but I have not succeeded in ascertaining exactly which of them were contemporary in office.

The vizier (No. 25), who was, according to Pap. Salt, 1/3, a predecessor of (No. 25), who was, is stated in an inscription of the Wadi-Hamamat, which I found in the papers of Nestor l'Hôte,\* to have officiated under Sety II. So he is to be inserted between Nos. 15 and 16.

For completeness I will further mention a vizier of the (Pap. Salt verso 1/6), whose name, and no less the obscurity of the passage in question, have withheld me from inserting him in the ordinary list of the viziers.



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